

SAN FRANCISCO ARTS POLICY

A BACKGROUND PAPER

no slaps

prepared by
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S.F. State University

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ART COMMISSION CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

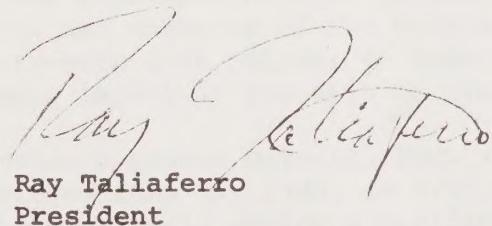
June 12, 1980

Dear San Franciscans,

The Art Commission is pleased to present this Study of Arts Policy for the City and County of San Francisco for your review.

It is our hope that this Study will serve as a basis upon which an overall arts policy for San Francisco can be developed.

To assist in this development, we solicit your comments and suggestions. Once all the requested input has been digested, we look forward to a process of long range planning which will lead to an enrichment of the cultural life of San Francisco.


Ray Taliaferro
President

INTRODUCTION

The San Francisco Art Commission, in co-sponsorship with Artists Equity Institute, Inc., is pleased to offer this study of arts policy in San Francisco in the hope that it will serve all San Franciscans concerned with the development of explicit arts policy mandates that insure accountability and responsiveness to community needs. The study was conducted, independently, under the joint auspices of the San Francisco State University Urban Studies Program, and Masters in Public Administration Program under the direction of Professor Norman Schneider. We are indeed grateful to Professor Schneider and his researchers for their excellent work.

San Francisco's projected budget deficit, and evident prospects of diminishing arts support in the wake of Proposition 13, requires a reassessment of arts policy and program goals by the Art Commission and other boards and commissions responsible for the City's art activities. The Mayor, the Board of Supervisors, foundations and corporations that support the arts, board members and staff of organizations that provide art programs and services, and private citizens are also concerned with needed policy change.

Additionally, in November, 1980, San Franciscans will be voting on a new City Charter. The Charter Revision Commission is considering proposals for the re-organization of arts boards and commissions, and providing an arts allocation mechanism for hotel tax revenues. Charter revision opens the possibility of substantial change in policy. It is a unique opportunity that calls for an in-depth examination of the arts in San Francisco.

Alfred de Grazia, in his book titled Supporting Art and Culture: 1001 Questions on Policy, poses this question: Who is (and should be) undertaking what cultural activity (who, how, with what help, for whom, at what cost, with what results) and who decides how to support them?

In addressing Mr. de Grazia's question, Professor Schneider, working jointly with the San Francisco Art Commission Charter Revision Committee, developed four project goals: 1) Trace the history and analyze the present formulation of San Francisco arts policy; 2) Compare charter treatment of arts policy in other cities; 3) Identify the range of interests and concerns of the various communities of San Francisco in respect to city-wide arts policy; 4) Report on available information documenting the economic impact of the arts in San Francisco.

This project report is intended to provide resource material for, and elicit public response at Art Commission hearings, June 20, 1980, at 2:30 and 7:30 PM, at Fort Mason, San Francisco. These hearings will employ a facilitated community workshop format and will assist the Art Commission in developing its final presentation to the Charter Revision Commission in advance of the third draft (due in August) of the proposed new City Charter.

This report will serve as a basic tool for analysis of the complex relationship among politics, economics, and the arts. It will assist long-range policy planning by government and the community, including foundations and corporate agencies that will be called upon to provide an increasing measure of assistance toward fostering the development of the arts in San Francisco.

by RICHARD MAYER, ART COMMISSIONER
Chair, Art Commission Charter Revision Committee



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URBAN STUDIES PROGRAM

THE URBAN CENTER

San Francisco State University

1600 HOLLOWAY AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94132

June 10, 1980

Mr. Ray Taliaferro, President
The San Francisco Art Commission
165 Grove Street
San Francisco, California 94102

Dear Mr. Taliaferro:

We are pleased to submit: San Francisco Arts Policy - A Background Paper. The paper is comprised of five chapters:

1. Historical Background: A narrative account of selected issues in the history of arts policy since the 1890's with emphasis on the Art Commission after 1932. Rather than present a comprehensive history of arts policy, the aim is made to develop perspective on major issues of current arts policy by pointing out both continuities and changes over time.

2. Structures and Functions: A review of official statements and municipal structures which reflect current arts policy and raises questions regarding the relative functions of several of the City's arts institutions, particularly with regard to allocated municipal revenues and their respective expenditures.

3. Economic Impact: A survey of existing research on the economic impact of the arts on urban economy, particularly as it applies to San Francisco in order to aid in the formulation of a municipal arts policy.

4. Opinions and Interests: A mosaic of personal interviews, letters and documents brings together opinions on controversial arts policy issues of arts advocates, city officials and professionals and others.

5. Municipal Structures: A discussion of systems of municipal subsidy of the arts as reflected in their most permanent structures of government and a brief survey of the arts policies reflected in the city charters of five American cities leading in arts advocacy.



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As the Art Commission requested, they provide a useful factual background for and stimulous to the process of developing an arts policy for the City and County of San Francisco. We have attempted to offer the most useful focus and range of material possible given the short time frame of the project.

Consistent with our understanding with the Art Commission, we have centered our attention on the nonprofit arts and the role of the City's government in relation to that sector.

Our deepest thanks to the many people who took time from their busy schedules to grant interviews, provide data and offer suggestions for this study. They are too numerous to list.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that appears to read "Norman Schneider".

Norman Schneider
Professor of Urban Studies
and Public Administration

Arts Policy Project Director
The Urban Center
San Francisco State University

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I. From the Nineteenth Century to 1932

The early period of San Francisco history showed that -- as in the case of western cities generally -- the development of the arts followed patterns similar to those in the rest of the nation. In San Francisco, as in the other leading cities of the West in 1880, no sharp distinctions separated places of entertainment from places for the appreciation of the arts. Beer gardens, lecture halls, and twelve theaters flourished in the City, and the Grand Opera House stood at the social and cultural heart of San Francisco. Two thousand people in formal evening dress attended special events there amid ornate splendor. Chinatown -- in a separate fashion that persists into the present time -- had its Chinese Royal and Chinese Grand theaters. Other San Franciscans from all walks of life flocked to the four thousand-seat pavilion at Woodward's Gardens. Support for arts and entertainment came from private sources during the period of robust expansion and economic ups and downs between the Gold Rush and the 1890's. All kinds of city government expenditure earned the scrutiny of politically active San Franciscans, and the dominant laissez-faire ideals of the period discouraged public spending to support art activities of any kind.

By the 1890's, San Francisco's dominant position on the Pacific Coast was challenged by Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle. Then the serious Depression between 1893 and 1897 jolted the City's business community into an awareness of urban rivalry that stimulated several decades of reform. Municipal reform was aimed to bolster the image of San Francisco and enhance its reputation so as to preserve and extend its commercial place in the constellation of Pacific Coast cities. This period of "urban progressivism" implied far-reaching changes in the relationship between private associations and individual philanthropists, city government, and the arts.¹

The close relationship between the enhancement of San Francisco's position in relation to its commercial rivals and the development of arts policy is illustrated in the events leading to the establishment of the M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum. DeYoung, proprietor of the San Francisco Chronicle, served as a commissioner and vice-president of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. DeYoung believed that the City should announce its intention to survive and prosper despite the Depression by presenting a "Mid-Winter Fair" advertising the climatic advantages of San Francisco and California. A committee of activists from business and the professions, rather than the city government, created a fund-raising drive that raised \$361,000. The committee elected DeYoung head of the Fair, and over two million had attended by the close of the gates in July 1894.

The Fair earned a profit of \$126,991. The balance from the Fair financed the conversion of the Fine and Decorative Art Building and the adjacent Royal Bavarian Pavilion into a permanent museum. This Mid-Winter Fair Memorial Museum was inaugurated and administered by the Park Commission in March, 1895. The Park Commission exercised jurisdiction over the Museum from 1895 to 1926; the name changed to the M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum in January 1921 when the Park Commission accepted the deed of trust.

The Museum's history between 1895 and 1921 illustrates the complex combination of private initiative and public support characterizing the origins of several arts policies during this period. DeYoung made his private collections gifts to the City; the Park Commission provided the funds for expansion in 1897; donations and wills from other private individuals helped pay building costs for expansion from 1917 to 1921. DeYoung's belief that "when the people have a little leisure time, they do not go downtown, where the streets are dead and there is no life. They go to their parks. And that is the logical place for a museum," helped insure that Golden Gate Park would house one of the City's major cultural institutions. His conviction that the museum should be open every day of the week free of charge helped insure its popularity and high attendance rates.²

M. H. DeYoung celebrated his 75th birthday in October 1924, at a gathering at which Chief Daniel O'Brien presided, hosted by the Downtown Association, the David Scannel Club of

firefighters, and members of the Police Department. The popularity evinced by these and other tributes helps to explain the widespread support generated by the DeYoung Endowment Committee in its drive to amend the City Charter to make the DeYoung Museum a separate city agency under the control of a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees rather than a part of the Park Commission. The amendment would commit the Board of Supervisors to appropriate not less than \$40,000 annually for the support of the Museum; DeYoung himself provided a bequest of bonds worth \$150,000 from his estate. By the November 4, 1924 election, Proposition 29 had been endorsed by the Civic League of Improvement Club and Associations, the Downtown Association, the San Francisco Club, the Chamber of Commerce, the Real Estate Board, the Bureau of Governmental Research, and the Labor Council.³

Proposition 29 passed by wide margins in all of the City's Assembly Districts, with support dropping below 60 percent only in the Bayshore and North Beach areas where voters nonetheless voted 58 and 57 percent in favor. These results took place during an election in which a total of 72 percent of the registered voters participated, though the turnout on the DeYoung Museum proposition was a relatively low 53 percent. Eighteen of the twenty-five ballot propositions stimulated higher turnout than Proposition 29.⁴

In 1924 just over half the registered voters supported the new policy to establish separate city subsidy for

the DeYoung Museum and to place it under a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees. The same can be said of the vote on Proposition 28 in the same election, where 54 percent of the registered voters amended the charter so as to accept the gift of Adolph B. and Alma de Bretteville Spreckels (the California Palace of the Legion of Honor) and require the Board of Supervisors to provide "sufficient funds" for its annual maintenance as a museum. As in the case of Proposition 29, the Assembly Districts that polled the highest majorities above the city-wide averages of 62 and 63 percent were in the middle and upper class areas. (Assembly Districts 30 to 32)

The few percentage point differences between the various parts of San Francisco should not distract attention from the general voter support for city government to assume financial responsibility for the DeYoung and the Palace of the Legion of Honor under a new policy. The concept that public funds would be turned over to and administered by self-perpetuating Boards of Trustees received substantial majorities in the City's thirteen Assembly Districts; the lowest majorities were 57 and 58 percent for Proposition 28 and 61 percent for Proposition 29.

Two years later, during the November 1926 election, voters, by over a three-to-one margin, authorized the City to accept from the U. S. War Department a deed to the property occupied by the Palace of Fine Arts (originally part of the

1915 Panama Pacific Exposition). Although fewer than half of the registered voters participated in this decision to amend the Charter, the high majorities (only one Assembly District returned a yes vote below 70 percent) suggest widespread voter approval of an earlier Board of Supervisors decision to spend \$100,000 on rehabilitation of the building and to continue city government maintenance.⁵

If this interaction between individual "cultural entrepreneurs," art interest groups, municipal government, and the voting public affected city policy toward the DeYoung Memorial Museum, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, and the Palace of Fine Arts, it also profoundly shaped the establishment of the War Memorial Opera House and the San Francisco Museum of Art. Both the Musical Association of San Francisco and the San Francisco Art Association participated in the 1918 proposal to build a structure to house a symphony hall, opera, and art museum. A memorial court, dedicated to the Arts of Peace and the military forces of World War I, were to be included. John Drum chaired a fund raising committee composed of W. H. Crocker, Templeton Crocker, Milton Esberg, Herbert Fleischacker, E. S. Heller, Walter Martin, and John D. McKee. By the spring of 1920 the committee had collected subscriptions and pledges for \$1,625,000 and purchased a building site opposite City Hall.⁶

The original committee was expanded by representatives of the American Legion who were interested in the sug-

gestion that the building contain quarters for the Legion. With the participation of the Legion, a new fund raising drive opened with a well-publicized rally in May 1920, but only about \$370,000 additional subscriptions followed.

William H. Crocker was at the time a Regent of the University of California, and the Committee was advised that the War Memorial would be tax exempt if the project became part of the University. The Regents agreed to enter into a trust agreement with representatives of the San Francisco Art Association (Walter S. Martin and Charles Templeton Crocker), representatives of the Musical Association (John D. McKee and E. S. Heller), representatives of the American Legion (Charles H. Kendrick and Frank F. Kilsby), as well as Milton H. Esberg, Herbert Fleishacker, William H. Crocker, and John S. Drum. The War Memorial Trust Agreement, dated August 19, 1921, became the legal foundation for the War Memorial project.

During the next nine years, a number of issues concerning the building of the War Memorial developed. These issues and the pattern by which the parties involved settled them illustrate again the nature of the interaction between the groups involved in the creation of city arts policy. In 1923 the Trustees made a proposal to the City to build an Opera House, an American Legion Building, and an Art Museum that would be part of the Civic Center. The City would purchase the land (the original lot was sold in 1924 because it seemed too small) with funds provided by the Trustees, and

then refund half of the money to the Trustees. The City acquired the site of the War Memorial buildings between 1923 and 1925, after the Board of Supervisors approved the proposal.

After the Trustees had found an architectural team in 1926, they decided that more funds would be necessary than had been subscribed. Not wanting to pare down the plans, they decided to use up the existing funds and request a supplement from the voters. They met with a United Veterans Council War Memorial Committee, publishers of the major City newspapers, and the Board of Supervisors, and decided to build only two buildings instead of the original three. There would be an Opera House and a "Veterans and Arts Building." The Board of Supervisors agreed to submit a four million dollar bond issue to the public in the June 14, 1927 election, and the publishers of the five newspapers agreed to endorse the measure.

Thirty-one percent of San Francisco's registered voters expressed a preference on the War Memorial Bonds, with 70 percent approval. All Assembly Districts gave majorities favorable to the bonds, with the lowest majority being 64 percent in the Bayshore District. The other bond issues that required a two-thirds vote (to extend the Municipal Railway and to change the funding of the Spring Valley Water System) did not obtain high enough majorities, but the War Memorial measure had a comfortable two-thirds majority.

Between this election and the November 1928 election, differences of opinion developed between some of the veteran

groups and the War Memorial Trustees. The veterans were concerned that they might not receive sufficient space for their use under the new plans. They generated controversy that affected a vote on the 1928 charter amendment to create a new City Board of Trustees for the War Memorial. The University of California Regents had notified the Board of Supervisors in September 1928 of their intention to transfer the trust funds to the City, but the Board of Supervisors passed a resolution holding up spending of the four million dollar bond issue until the veteran organizations declared they were satisfied with the plans.

The various parties achieved a compromise by November 1930 when the Board approved the transfer of funds to the new eleven City "Trustees of the War Memorial" which voters had approved in the November 1928 election. While the details of the controversy may be omitted, the fact that the opposition veteran organizations campaigned against the 1928 measure and distributed literature accusing the original Trustees of mismanagement and waste of the privately subscribed funds should be noted. This may have contributed to the significantly higher turnout for the vote on the charter amendment creating the new City Board of Trustees. Where only 32 percent turned out for the 1928 War Memorial bond issue vote, 62 percent turned out for the vote creating the new Board of Trustees. Where the city-wide vote in favor of the bonds was a substantial 70 percent, the vote for the Trustees was just over 50

percent. Eight of the thirteen Assembly Districts registered majorities against the Trustee measure. ⁷

The ability of interest groups with a large city-wide constituency like the veteran organizations to influence the outcome of arts policy issues on the ballot during this period should be considered along with the ability of smaller groups to influence arts policy by means of cooperative interactions with City officials rather than by conflict during election campaigns. The eventual resolution of the differences between the San Francisco Art Association and the San Francisco Museum of Art (the Museum was the agency created by the Art Association to operate the museum part of the War Memorial) and the veteran organizations depended upon gradual adjustment involving the Mayor, the Board of Supervisors, the City Attorney, and the representatives of the organizations rather than upon public participation by voters involving wide-spread publicity and debate.

Close and cooperative association between groups with a direct interest in the arts, city officials, and municipal reform organizations such as the Commonwealth Club and the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research provided the impetus for the inclusion of an Art Commission in the revised City Charter that was prepared in 1930 and passed by voters in 1931. The two sections (45 and 46) of the 1932 Charter concerned with the composition of the Art Commission and its powers and duties were taken almost word for word from

the recommendations of Irving Morrow and the Art Sections of the Commonwealth Club.⁸

In February 1931, after the Charter had been drafted, but before voter approval of 56 to 44 percent in March, members of the groups that had played key roles in "the insertion of the Art Commission in the new city charter" met to form the San Francisco Federation of Arts. The purpose of this group, as stated in the minutes of its first meeting, was "the setting up of machinery for the nomination of members of the Commission of Arts as proposed in the new Charter of San Francisco and such other duties as may be determined later." E. Spencer Macky, elected chairman of the organizing committee, represented the San Francisco Art Association.⁹

One month after voters approved the Charter, the organizing committee announced a meeting where the permanent organization would formally inaugurate its activities. Believing that "it is obvious that those actively occupied with the arts are in the best position to know who in the community is qualified to serve in this capacity," the organizing committee went on to say that "this subject [nominations to the Mayor for the Art Commissioners] affords but the immediate incentive for organizing the proposed Federation. We are confident that it will quickly prove its utility in all matters arousing the common interest of local art groups, or calling for their united action." The following groups received

invitations for the June 1931 meeting: San Francisco Art Association; San Francisco Opera Association; Musical Association of San Francisco; San Francisco Musicians Club; San Francisco Society of Women Artists; the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco; Bohemian Club; The Book Club; Northern California Chapter, American Institute of Architects; American Federation of Musicians, Local No. 6; Pacific Coast Chapter, American Society of Landscape Architects. The other art organizations of the City would be welcome once the Federation had established itself. ¹⁰

Several aspects of the process by which the San Francisco Federation of Arts organized itself into an informal advisory group for the Mayor, Board of Supervisors, and Art Commission should be noted. First, the organizers of the Federation sought to shape San Francisco art policy according to a model derived from New York. This is evident in both the minutes of the first meeting and in correspondence between the chairman of the organizing committee and prospective members of the new Federation. On April 27, 1931, the chairman wrote to the Secretary of the Fine Arts Federation of New York for copies of its constitution and by-laws "and any other data that would assist us in the formation of this Federation." Besides choosing the New York institution as an appropriate model for San Francisco, the Federation regarded its role as a necessary corrective to time consuming methods of policy making that occurred as the result of debate,

disagreement, conflict, and compromise. The four years of controversy between the veteran organizations, the Art Association of San Francisco, and the Trustees over the War Memorial plans had generated exactly such political currents, and in 1931 some issues remained unresolved that would continue to create friction until the late 1930's. Chairman Macky of the new Federation (he represented the Art Association) described the goals of the new organization in a way that specified the perception of its members of its proper political role:¹¹

We believe that this is an urgent matter, and that this nomination [of Art Commissioners] has great possibilities, not only for the immediate business at hand, but for many other projects where united efforts for purposes of art seem desirable in this city, and goodness knows, we do need some united action in this city in matters pertaining to art. We feel that such an organization can do a great deal to unify public opinion, and bring political pressure to bear through its united membership in the political support of art in this city.

The public announcement distributed after the formal inauguration of the Federation also explicitly referred to the Federation's political nature:

Hitherto situations demanding common action between the various arts or between various organizations in the same field have had to be met by some sort of improvised co-operation, with the attendant delay and inefficiency that this implies. The new federation provides permanent and organized means for meeting these situations as they arise.

The Federation met on November 19, 1931 to select its nominees to the Mayor for the Art Commission, and the Commission held its first meeting on January 21, 1932.

II. From 1932 to 1964

The 1932 Charter preserved the independence of the M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor from the Board of Supervisors and the mayor. Because they had self-perpetuating boards serving indefinitely, these major cultural institutions developed their policies relatively independently of the leading economic, social, and political currents within San Francisco. The Art Commission, on the other hand, received a mandate to "exercise all reasonable supervision of policy connected to the arts as may hereafter be assigned to it by ordinance or executive action." The Charter also gave the Art Commission power to "supervise and control the expenditure of all appropriations made by the Board of Supervisors for music and the advancement of art or music." These Charter provisions allowed the Art Commission to develop interpretations of its responsibilities both by influencing and by being influenced by mayors and supervisors, as well as by interest groups outside city government. The Charter also required the Art Commission to approve works of art in buildings on city property and designs for buildings, bridges, and other structures on city property. Consequently, the Commission played a role as arbiter of public taste during the post-World War II period of growth and expansion in municipal building projects involving schools, playgrounds, office buildings, and highways.¹²

Discussions about the proper scope of Art Commission activities began during its first year. The Commission, unanimously agreeing that such activity was beyond its jurisdiction, refused to sponsor an exhibit in Union Square after observing that in New York and other eastern cities such shows were commercial and filled with mediocre art.¹³

The question of how much support the City ought to provide for the visual arts as opposed to music also came up during the Commission's first year. In February 1933, the Commission considered its jurisdiction broad enough to ask the Chief Administrative Officer to use the City's publicity and advertising fund money for a subsidy of \$12,500 for the Musical Association Symphony Orchestra and \$10,000 for the San Francisco Summer Symphony Association. The Musical Association and the Summer Symphony were receiving subsidies both from the publicity and advertising fund and from the Art Commission by the winter of 1935. Nevertheless, they were still severely short of funds. The musician's union wanted to play a full season, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce emergency subsidy fell \$35,000 short of the total funds necessary for the Musical Association to continue. The Art Commission decided to draw up a charter amendment that would levy a tax of one-half cent on each hundred dollars of the assessed valuation of the city and county earmarked for the symphony. The Art Commission's publicity in favor of the charter amendment illustrates the continued strength of the concept, earlier expressed by the San Francisco Federation of Art's references to New York, that San Fran-

cisco ought to number itself among "world-class" cities.¹⁴

This Charter Amendment No. 3 is to provide sufficient financial backing to continue the major musical educational enterprises which have added to San Francisco's fame as a cultural center throughout the civilized world and particularly to guarantee the continuance of a symphony orchestra, including 85 expert musicians, which represents the axis around which all major musical activities of the community revolve.

The charter amendment passed by a majority of 64 percent, but the argument used by opponents, that maintenance of a symphony was not a proper municipal function, generated a debate that is worth noting. The debate revolved around the question of who should benefit from city government subsidy to the arts. Opponents of the symphony tax argued that it was unfair to the City's majority, because only a small number of San Franciscans expressed an interest in symphonic music by attending performances. The proponents stressed the point of view that the very existence of a superior symphony orchestra, like the existence of an opera house and art museums, benefitted the City as a whole regardless of which particular San Franciscans used the facilities. The obvious differences in philosophy that these arguments express -- like the issue of the level of support for music versus the visual arts -- would surface again and again in later debates over arts policy.

The Art Commission's municipal concerts, the first in the country to be subsidized by direct tax from city property owners, had achieved a national reputation by the end

of the Commission's first decade in 1942. According to one local music critic, the concerts were "the admiration of all the major music centers in the country." The Commission prided itself on its ability to bring "good music within the reach of all" by keeping admission prices low. While later critics would disagree with the Commission over its choice of program or the balance of national stars and local aspirants appearing on the program, the concept of a municipal subsidy quickly became institutionalized.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the issue of which groups in the City should benefit from subsidized arts, raised in 1935 by the opposition to the symphony tax, persisted into the 1940's. For nine years, despite some criticism in the press, the Municipal Band (funded by the Art Commission but not through the special symphony tax), had performed at a wide variety of quasi-public occasions. In February 1941, however, the Art Commission voted seven to one to cancel four of the already scheduled concerts for the 1941 season. Performances at the Elks reception, at the Shrine St. Patricks Day luncheon, at the St. Patricks Day parade, and at a ceremony at the Robert Emmet Monument should no longer be supported, one commissioner suggested, and future policy ought to conform to the principle that the Band would play only at "civic, patriotic, and philanthropic affairs." The Commission agreed to delete the concerts. When Mayor Rossi objected to the deletion of the concerts (he said he particularly disliked the cancellation of music for the Shrine St. Patricks Day luncheon, because the event testified

to the City's devotion to religious toleration), the Commission backed down. ¹⁶

Two months later, the Commission reversed itself again when it decided to cancel payment for Municipal Band concerts at the St. Patricks Day parade and at the memorial service for Father Peter Yorke. The full details of this controversy may be omitted, but the extent to which it affected discussion of what principles should guide arts policy should be mentioned. The Commission held two special meetings to resolve the issue of favoritism to particular ethnic and religious groups that had been raised in relation to the band's performance at these two concerts. Despite one Commissioner's description of these concerts as benefiting "limited numbers who seek special privileges" and his argument that the concerts violated "our responsibility" which "is that of representing the interests of San Francisco, taken as a whole," the Commission cooperated with Mayor Rossi and rescinded the ban on funds for the disputed concerts. The vote was close, however, on the two measures which concluded this controversy (seven to six and eight to five), and the issue of what kinds of art activities benefit the San Francisco population as a whole as opposed to particular parts of the population, though settled temporarily, would recur again. ¹⁷

Other discussions of the scope of the Art Commission's authority, as well as debate about the vigor with which it ought to guide the post-World War II cultural development of

San Francisco, began during the war. In January 1942 the Planning Commission began reporting its progress on a post-war master plan to the Art Commission, and in October the Art Commission unanimously approved a resolution that stressed "the need of steadily thinking of the general and cultural welfare of our city for peace time realization." Drafted by landscape architect, Emerson Knight, a commissioner who had been one of the organizers of the San Francisco Federation of Arts in 1931, the resolution contained both a critique of the Art Commission's history and a program for its future. While the Commission's record regarding music, architectural design of public buildings, and painting and sculpture for public use stood up well, "In other arts we have not functioned fully. While our Charter limits our initiative powers, we still are free to state our principles as we encourage sound Art."¹⁸

Differences of philosophy and disagreements over priorities pervaded discussions about the Art Commission's visual arts policy during this period. Shortly after he joined the Commission in March 1944, Benjamino Bufano presented a three part proposal based on principles which he outlined explicitly:¹⁹

the function of the arts is to reflect the community's spiritual expression of the people and the times through the medium of its art. It is the government's responsibility to reach this goal uniting the people toward one common good by not only sponsoring such mediums of expression, but also to encourage and foster them.

Bufano's proposals to raise the symphony tax from one-half cent to three cents per one hundred dollar valuation, to hold all municipal concerts in the Opera House, and to sell all tickets for fifty cents appeared "questionable and might prove detrimental to the Art Commission and the cultural welfare of San Francisco." The Commission rejected this proposal. A second proposal in favor of tree planting earned the Commission's approval, and an ad hoc committee began work on a street beautification program to be incorporated into the City's master plan. Bufano also proposed a third item concerned with the visual arts, arguing that artists should "be employed to fill the spaces on the walls of schools with cultural subjects in order that the students may acquire a visual education. . . ." He also recommended that public school students receive "a humanistic education" by participating in the art activities that would embellish the schools. The Architecture, Painting and Sculpture Committees approved this proposal, but other members of the Commission, disturbed by what they considered its vagueness, sent the proposal back to the Committee for further study. The Commission eventually tabled Bufano's report after describing it as "replete with vague generalities and wholly without practical relevancy to the functions of the Art Commission either as prescribed by charter, or assigned to it by ordinance or executive action. In some of its implications, it constitutes an invasion into the primary jurisdiction and authority of the Board of Education and the Superintendent."²⁰

Gradually, however, between late 1944 and early 1946, after discussions about charter revision (the Art Commission recommended an increase in the symphony tax to three-fourth cents per hundred and an entirely new tax of three-fourth cents for "various art projects"), and letters from the San Francisco Artists Council and San Francisco Arts Conference supporting Bufano's proposals, the Commission decided to ask the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors for an appropriation for "furthering visual arts." The Commission received half of the amount it had requested, and it decided in July 1946 to spend the \$12,500 for an outdoor art exhibit. ²¹

The Art Commission's first Outdoor Art Exhibit, held in the Civic Center Plaza in October 1946, pleased the members of the Committee on Painting and Sculpture. Commissioners Spencer Macky and Ernest Born, on the other hand, described the show as a disappointment. Macky argued that the show did not measure up to the highest standards; many recognized artists submitted only easy to understand work "at the small prices most people can afford." Born submitted a special report in June 1947 proposing that the appropriation for furthering visual arts be used to establish a visual arts center as well as art scholarships for local students. The Art Commission, he argued, should not directly sponsor another art show. After the city attorney ruled that while scholarships were beyond the authority of the Art Commission, a visual arts center could be developed, the Commission held a special meeting and decided to compromise. It would prepare to spon-

sor another art show in 1948 and also prepare plans for the establishment of a city-wide visual arts center.²²

Six months later, concern over the direction of the City's visual arts policy led a number of art interest groups to form a coalition called the Associated Group of Bay Area Artists (AGBAA). This new group began playing an active role in city art policy starting in February 1948 when the Commission, with several new members, elected Harold L. Zellerbach as president. During 1948 and 1949, Ernest Born, now Chairman of a new Visual Arts Committee in the Commission, prepared a plan for a "Broader Interpretation of the Art Commission's Visual Arts Activities." Born drew up the proposal after meetings with the directors of the DeYoung Museum, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the California School of Fine Arts, the President of AGBAA, and the art critics of the two major newspapers. The April 1950 "Outline for a Long Range Program Relating to the Visual Arts For the City of San Francisco" based itself on the explicit premise that "The Art Commission's most useful and practical function is to act as a catalyst" in the "merging of ideas and interest" of all parties interested in the future of the arts.²³

In this way, we hope to have some influence to elevate standards of design and performance that will improve and enhance the physical appearance of San Francisco and strengthen its reputation as a city of substantial culture and vision. This teamwork will reflect a profound and inspired tone that in the long measure contains what is best in the meaning of the art concept. It is also very, very practical "business."

Born recommended "A program of cooperation among the various Commissions and Departments of the City and the various art and professional groups with the Art Commission acting as the coordinating agent." There were five general objectives: 1) the Art Commission should exercise control over the design of municipal works, architecture, planning, and engineering to ensure that they would be "of outstanding merit;" 2) the Commission should develop public appreciation of the visual arts through a program of exhibition and awards; 3) the Commission ought to be charged with carrying out a systematic policy of patronage of architects, sculptors, and painters whose work would provide designs for, and whose work would appear in, the City's buildings and parks; 4) the Commission should develop a City Collection of Works of Art that would be the basis of both a permanent collection in the Museum of Art (in the War Memorial) and a lending library; 5) the Art Commission ought to enhance the cultural reputation of San Francisco by establishing an Art Center that "would function as a force for the integration of Bay region cultural activities."²⁴

Although the plan as a whole did not become part of city government policy, many of the specific elements eventually made their way into practice. One part of the plan gained immediate specificity by means of a new proposal, made by the AGBAA, for "an equity plan" that would guide the future annual San Francisco Art Festivals. After a period of

experimentation in 1950 and 1951, the Society of Western Artists, AGBAA, and the Art Commission resolved some differences of opinion on the jury selection of exhibitors, and established a compromise policy based on the principle, as stated in 1954, that there is "a need for concerted action on the part of all organized groups in order to help the Art Commission to formulate a uniformed [sic] program." ²⁵

The goal of cooperation and partnership evident in the gradual institutionalization of the annual art festival also played a part in the evolution of policy regarding the Art Commission's role in the design of city and county construction projects during the post-war period. Emerson Knight's 1942 resolution on art policy had outlined a detailed program of environmental reform: major and minor parks and playgrounds; "universal" tree planting on streets and in vacant areas; refuse containers throughout the city; gardens in streets too steep for automobiles; design control over newsstands and kiosks; preservation of historic buildings; elimination of air pollution, noise, and large billboards. The Art Commission unanimously endorsed his statement that "We go on record now as endorsing these principles in spirit, and we feel moved to fight for their realization with our best powers." ²⁶

Environmental reforms of this sort received consistent attention from the Art Commission from 1945 to 1964. The changing membership of the Commission and differences

of opinion among the members, as well as the attitudes of mayors, supervisors, and city attorneys, affected the pace and the timing with which sentiment turned into policy and policy shaped actual building projects. But the Commission's essential sympathy did not decline during the period. One manifestation of the continuity in this area was the twenty-year discussion about the need for a special city fund for the beautification of its public buildings. In November 1945 the Commission passed a resolution specifying that future appropriations for city and county building construction would include a minimum of two percent of the estimated gross project cost that would be allocated for the specific purpose of landscaping, sculpture, and painting. The idea surfaced again in 1950, and in 1951 a new Civic Design Committee began work as the special group within the Art Commission charged with public design policy. In 1952 the City Attorney ruled that only a charter amendment could authorize an appropriation for "enrichment with painting and sculpture." Two years later, the Commission presented the Charter Revision Committee with a weakened proposal to establish a one percent enrichment fund, but by 1955 continued lack of success on the measure moved the Civic Design Committee to issue a mixed report:²⁷

during the past five years there has been a considerable awakening in the minds of city planners and department heads that art must be considered in building projects -- everlastingly on the job, saying so.

However, until such time as legislative backing for art -- and artists of all kinds --

is gained by laws which will provide mandatory inclusion of art treatments in city building budgets, progress will be slow, and sometimes painful.

The Commission continued to discuss the enhancement fund with city government officials and with representatives of groups such as the California Association of Landscape Architects. In 1957 the Commission prepared yet another charter amendment, but continued failure to revise the charter moved it to reconsider obtaining the fund by means of an ordinance. In 1964 a new City Attorney agreed on the legality of such an ordinance, and by 1967 the enrichment fund had become an official part of San Francisco Art Policy.²⁸

III. From 1964 to 1972

By the mid-1960's, the San Francisco scene had begun to manifest changes related to both its changing economic activities (toward tourism, service, government employment and corporate headquarters) and its changing social mix (the "arrived" ethnic groups of Irish, Italians, Germans, and Asians were joined by the "arriving" ethnic groups of Blacks and Central Americans). The domestic and international conflicts of these years had their local counterparts in the two racial conflicts of the spring and summer of 1967 that left 49 persons injured and the student strike at San Francisco State College in the fall and winter of 1968-1969.

Despite these changes in the local political context,

the issues of arts policy that received most attention during this period continued to revolve around familiar questions: which groups in the City's population should benefit and in what ways from public support of the arts; how can the interests of "the city as a whole" be best satisfied; what kinds of priorities ought to be established in developing support for the various arts (music, visual arts, public architecture); how much initiative should the Art Commission exercise given its mandate in the Charter, and how should the Charter be interpreted; what types of communication and influence should the Art Commission foster with City officials and with art interest groups?

In addition to these well-established issues, several new questions evolved during this period: to what extent should city policy foster the growth and development of neighborhood art activities; must the City choose between serving particular neighborhoods with participatory centers and serving the Bay Area with international-class performances, or could both be supported; in what ways should interest groups composed of previously unrepresented art forms or cultural traditions be brought into the policy-making system established prior to the 1960's? These new issues arose at the same time that the Chief Administrative Officer began to distribute funds derived from the hotel tax to art activities. The state legislature authorized local governments to tax hotel bed space for the purpose of raising funds to draw attention to local resources in 1961, and by the 1962-1963 fiscal year, the City

was spending \$196,000 of the roughly one million dollars from this tax on symphony, opera, and ballet. The existence of this fund, under the discretion of the Chief Administrative Officer, introduced a new issue that became part of the background to all discussions of art policy during this period.²⁹

Two of the six new members of the Art Commission appointed by Mayor John F. Shelley in March 1964 suggested changes in policy designed to broaden the Commission's activities. Jeremy M. Ets-Hokin, the painter member of the Commission, proposed an International Music and Art Festival reminiscent in its scale to the proposals introduced by Benjamino Befano in 1944 and Ernest Born in 1950. Ets-Hokin and Tito Patri, the new landscape architect member, jointly introduced a resolution in February 1965 calling for a new committee to "investigate the state of theatre arts in San Francisco, with particular emphasis on specific means of enhancing popular and economic support of this important cultural institution." This committee, though appointed by the Chairman, did not include Ets-Hokin or Patri, and Ets-Hokin complained about this at the Art Commission on March 1, 1965.³⁰

While experiencing challenges to its policies from within, the Art Commission also found itself challenged from without. Phillip C. Boone, President of the San Francisco Symphony Association, suggested in February that the thirty-year arrangement by which the Art Commission distributed the symphony tax be altered, with the subsidy going directly to the Symphony Association. Stressing that the Art Commission's

record "is a municipal achievement that has not been surpassed by any private group or organization in the country," the Commission's secretary questioned the timeliness and the practicality of the proposed changes. ³¹

By October 1965, San Francisco art interest groups and the City's cultural institutions had become involved in another policy question. Described as Proposition B on the November 2 ballot, this question concerned a twenty-nine million dollar bond issue to modernize and rehabilitate the War Memorial buildings and construct a new Musical Arts Building. The project developed out of concern by the director of the Symphony Association, the trustees of the War Memorial, and a coalition including the Mayor, members of the Board of Supervisors, leading figures from business and labor groups, as well as neighborhood merchant's associations, that San Francisco needed to improve its facilities for the performing arts or lose its stature as a world-class city. ³²

The campaign for Proposition B began in earnest on October 1 with the opening of the headquarters of Citizens for Proposition B. On October 4, the Art Commission (Antonio Sotomayor having replaced Jeremy Ets-Hokin) endorsed the Proposition, and on the following day Mayor Shelley -- denying the claim that the bond issue would benefit "only the very rich" -- urged passage at a rally in Union Square. ³³

Several journalists explored aspects of the policy issue (who would be served by the subsidy) that the Mayor had

raised in his speech. Dick Nolan described the opponents of the bonds as believers in "the percolator-upper theory of the arts" that preferred "a lot of little theaters for the little people in their little neighborhoods." The supporters, on the other hand, should be called "trickle-downers" who "want One Big Shebang -- with a carriage entrance." Kenneth Rexroth's remarks deserve quotation at some length, for the policy issues received explicit attention in his column of October 10, 1965. 34

We could easily afford another bond issue to build facilities for the performing arts in all the poor neighborhoods of San Francisco. I am all for this and so should be every Negro leader and every body else interested in reversing the processes of demoralization which now make our slums what they are.

On the other hand, there is not the slightest reason why the poor and underprivileged of the city should not demand their rights to enjoy what will go on in the Opera House. There are already all sorts of student rates and other art to the people programs, but there should be more and those we have should be better known.

Robert Commanday, writing in This World magazine, found what he called "San Francisco's Fading Cultural Glories" a disturbing prospect that could be corrected if Proposition B passed. Phillip C. Boone, speaking to a luncheon audience at the Bohemian Club, argued that of all the reasons he saw to support the measure "Most important of all, it would restore San Francisco's sagging artistic stature in the world." Alexander Fried explicitly denied the charge that the proposed

Civic Center complex would benefit only a wealthy few: ³⁵

A new brand of political 'Know Nothings' (some of whom in their hearts know better) are charging that the audience is founded mainly on a party-happy Establishment of unmusical socialites, with a mere fringe of genuine music lovers hung up forlornly in the gallery.

Such a comic strip notion has been out of date 50 years.

Music and ballet is nowadays a broad popular enthusiasm, not just a diversion for clique, highbrow, or snob. [the audiences] reveal how a broad region looks upon San Francisco as a hub city, and regularly come to it for cultural well-being, pleasure and edification; and for business at the same time.

By strengthening itself as a hub, San Francisco can retain the magnetic position it has always held, and which suburban trends are threatening to take away from it. Proposition B is designed to help strengthen it.

The defeat of Proposition B by a decisive 68 to 32 percent occurred in November 1965. In January 1966, the Art Commission, for the first time, included a budget request for "Sponsoring Neighborhood Groups -- Participation Art Festival." Later, in August 1966, Tito Patri addressed a letter to the Mayor, the Art Commission, and "the people of San Francisco" as he resigned his position on the Commission. Stressing the need for public participation from all segments of the City population in what he called "cultural growth," Patri argued that the Art Commission should establish a "permanent committee on cultural resources and growth" that would "re-assess San Francisco's cultural needs from a social stand point at all levels." Complaining that "we have talked for years of a comprehensive 'art in the neighborhoods program,' and yet

nothing ever seems to take place," Patri recommended that the City establish a director of cultural affairs to advise the Mayor and the Art Commission, as well as neighborhood art councils and "the newly created Arts Resources Committee."³⁶

The Arts Resources Development Committee (ARDC) had been established by Mayor John F. Shelley in March 1966. Sponsored by the Zellerbach Family Fund and chaired by Harold L. Zellerbach, President of the Art Commission, the Committee included representatives from a wide range of ethnic and institutional backgrounds by the time it made its report in November. The Mayor described the Committee's report as "a blueprint for a program of effective community development and maintenance of artistic endeavors of all kinds." The report's long range goal involved the establishment of a new City agency, the Arts Resources Authority (ARA), charged with both evaluating and coordinating arts programs of city departments and guiding private arts organizations and institutions. For the moment, the ARDC would continue to collaborate with the Art Commission under the existing charter, then "at the appropriate time" new City legislation would provide the ARA with legal powers.³⁷

The ARDC Report proposed that the new Authority would set in motion a series of changes in city arts policy. Arts in the neighborhoods would be supported and encouraged by extending the best existing programs and starting new ones. Artists would be involved in these neighborhood activities, and the City would provide materials and facilities as well as funding. The ARA would also promote arts education in

elementary and secondary schools, as well as in adult education classes, and it would advance professional art instruction by strengthening the best programs at local colleges, universities, and academies. The ARA would develop the War Memorial Veteran's Building and the Palace of Fine Arts into centers for City amateur and semi-professional performances, and public schools, recreation and park facilities would also be turned over to such activities. At the same time, the ARA would make more professional programs available, both in the neighborhoods and public schools; it would also renovate the Opera House and construct a new symphony and ballet hall. Professional visual arts programs would also receive renewed support; the programs, administrations, and objectives of the City's major museums would be scrutinized to determine the feasibility of common coordination; the arts in media would be promoted.

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Like the Ernest Born proposal of 1950, only parts of this comprehensive program became City policy, and this happened gradually between 1966 and 1972. The ARDC continued to exist as an informal advisory group until January 18, 1972, when Mayor Joseph Alioto created an Inter-Agency Committee on the Arts designed to "unify and develop cooperative action" by all the City's tax supported agencies and organizations. Headed by the President of the Art Commission, this Committee included the Chief Administrative Officer, the heads of the Board of Education, the War Memorial Board of Trustees, the DeYoung Memorial Museum Board of Trustees, the Recreation and

Park Commission, the Library Commission, the Redevelopment Agency, one representative each of the Opera Association, the Symphony Association, the San Francisco Museum of Art, and one representative at large from the arts community of San Francisco.³⁹

By the beginning of 1972, the Art Commission had steadily increased the public subsidy for a Neighborhood Arts Program that it initiated in 1967, but private funding (some from the Zellerbach Family Fund and some from the San Francisco Foundation) also supported the program.⁴⁰ The story of the extension of this program after 1972, when substantial increases in funding changed its scale and neighborhood cultural centers began to be established, belongs more to the present than to the past.

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NOTES

1. Material on the nineteenth century is from William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, San Francisco, 1870-1940: Politics, Power and Urban Development, forthcoming, University of California Press.
2. John P. Young, San Francisco, Volume II, San Francisco, S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912, pp. 727-28. The M. H. De-Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco Park Commission, 1921, p. 12.
3. San Francisco Chronicle, October 3, 21, 24, 26, 29; November 2, 4, 6.
4. All data on election returns are from the Registrar of Voters records, San Francisco City Hall.
5. See the publication of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, The City, Vol. VI (October 1926), p. 78; Vol. VII (May 31, 1927), pp. 119-120; Vol. VIII (October 25, 1928), pp. 130-131.
6. The following relies on Moses Lasky, History of the San Francisco Museum of Art and Analysis of its Relations to the City and County of San Francisco, (mimeograph copy, 1961, 1963). A copy is in the San Francisco History Collection, San Francisco Public Library. "History of the War Memorial" by Charles Kendrick, and documents, are attached to the report.
7. See Kendrick, "History," pp. 4-11.
8. Preston Devine, "The Adoption of the 1932 Charter of San Francisco," M. A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1933, p. 62.
9. Information about the Federation of Arts comes from letters and notes of discussions, as well as minutes of meetings, in the Archives of the San Francisco Art Institute. The following letters are especially pertinent: E. Spencer Macky to William L. Gerstle, April 29, 1931; Macky to John V. Van Pelt, April 27, 1931; Minutes of meeting of February 5, 1931; "Suggested Composition of Art Commission," n.d.
10. Letter from Organizing Committee, San Francisco Federation of Arts, to Commonwealth Club of California, Attention: Mr. Stuart R. Ward, Assistant Executive Secretary, April 27, 1931, in Archives of San Francisco Art Institute.
11. The two quotations below are from Organizing Committee to San Francisco Art Association, April 27, 1931; Macky to Gerstle, April 29, 1931.

12. Copy of the original Charter sections in files of the San Francisco Art Commission (hereafter cited as Files).
13. Minutes of the Art Commission of the City and County of San Francisco (hereafter Minutes). November 9, 1932.
14. Minutes, February 14, 1933, January 11, 17, 1935. Publicity statement is in Files. Also The City, Vol. XV (April 26, 1935), pp. 9-10.
15. Transcript of Alexander Fried interview with Joseph H. Dyer, Jr., April 2, 1940, Files. Minutes, April 2, 1937, May 10, 1937.
16. Minutes, February 11, 14, 1941.
17. Minutes, April 2, 22, 24, 30, 1941.
18. Minutes, October 7, 1942.
19. Minutes, April 25, 1944.
20. Minutes, May 15, July 7, August 9, 1944.
21. Minutes, October 11, 19, 1944; May 2, 1945; February 13, 1946; March 13, 1946; July 17, 1946.
22. Minutes, August 28, 1946; May 21, June 25, August 6, September 17, 1947.
23. Minutes, December 11, 1947; February 18, 1948; March 9, April 11, 1949; April 10, 1950.
24. Minutes, April 10, 1950. See also letter from Ernest Born to Dr. Douglas MacAgy, January 5, 1950, in Archives of San Francisco Art Institute.
25. Minutes, April 7, 1952; May 8, 1950; September 5, 1950; April 7, 1952; February 1, 1954.
26. Minutes, October 7, 1942.
27. Minutes, November 14, 1945; July 10, 1950; March 12, 1951; January 7, 1952. The Civic Design Committee's Report, dated March 14, 1955, is in the Art Commission Files.
28. Minutes, March 4, 1957, August 5, September 3, 1957; January 10, 1964. See also letter of Commissioner John K. Hagopian, published in This World magazine, March 19, 1972, regarding the ordinance.
29. Publicity and Advertising Fund figures for 1962-63 are from a document in the Art Commission Files.

30. Minutes, March 9, February 1, March 1, 1964
31. Copy of letter is in Files.
32. For details of Proposition B, see The City, Vol. 43 (October 14, 1965). For make-up of supporters, see San Francisco Chronicle, October 1, 2, 5, 8, 21, 1965.
33. Chronicle, October 1, 5, 1965.
34. Chronicle, October 10, 1965, "San Francisco's Absurd Bond Fight."
35. Chronicle, October 17, 12, 10, 1965.
36. Minutes, January 5, 1966. Patri's letter was excerpted in the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, This World magazine, in a column by Alfred Frankenstein, August 7, 1966. See also Frankenstein's column on August 16, 1966.
37. John F. Shelley to William R. Holman, November 21, 1966, copy in the Art Department, San Francisco Public Library. A copy of the San Francisco Arts Resources Development Committee Report (November 15, 1966) is also available at the San Francisco Public Library in the Documents Department.
38. ARDC Report, pp. 11-20.
39. San Francisco Chronicle, January 19, 1972.
40. Minutes, December 5, 1966; January 9, March 6, June 7, July 10, 1967; San Francisco Chronicle, March 1, 1967; San Francisco Examiner, March 3, 1967; Minutes, April 1, 1968; December 1, 1969; August 3, 1970; July 7, 1971; July 15, 1972.

SAN FRANCISCO ARTS POLICY:

STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS

This paper will focus on the current state of arts policy in San Francisco. The following pages are divided into four sections:

- I Statements of San Francisco Arts Policy
- II Official Agencies with Major Impact on the Arts in San Francisco
- III Public Financing for the Arts in San Francisco
- IV Questions for the Development of Arts Policy in San Francisco.

Information for this Chapter was gathered from interviews with public officials, art program administrators, local grantees of public funds and private citizens known to have broad experience in public arts programming. In addition, written materials were obtained and reviewed from the Office of the Mayor, the CAO, and the Comptroller, City and County art agencies, the Budget Analysts of the Board of Supervisors, and several community arts programs.

Statements

I. San Francisco's Art Policy

The most comprehensive statement of contemporary San Francisco arts policy found in our study appears in a report by Mayor George Moscone's staff to a recent meeting of the National League of Cities San Francisco. The Moscone report speaks of municipal support for the arts in terms of improving the quality and beauty of city life as well as the economic base on which the city survives.

The promotion of artistic concern and the financial well-being of San Francisco's artistic institutions play a very important role in the economic base of the City and County. San Francisco recognizes the value of the arts to our ideals and points of view; it enhances the beauty and congeniality of our environment; and it serves to unify our citizens by promoting exchange and understanding. Municipal support of the arts in San Francisco is a long-standing tradition.¹

The report points out the complex character of the arts in San Francisco. We have found this complexity a constraining factor in gathering and analyzing data on San Francisco arts policy. Prior to this report to the National League of Cities, Mayor Moscone's staff pointed out that the City and County of San Francisco had not done a comprehensive

analysis of the amount of money it was spending on the arts. The absence of such an analysis may have been due, in part, to "the structure of the city government (where), no one authority has administrative control over all art institutions or art related activities."²

The Moscone Administration had been initiating "the development of a 'cultural policy' for the City and County" and its efforts are described in the following paragraphs:

Though San Francisco substantially supports the arts or cultural groups... recent concern is that the City and County have a better management sense of how these dollars are being spent. Though the support appears high, it is only between 1% and 2% of the total operating budget. It is important that analysis be done to ensure maximum impact as a responsibility to the cultural community.

(Our) cultural policy speaks to the assurances that spending in the arts reflect the nature of San Francisco, that artistic consideration be established in other areas of municipal policy and that the City promote non-monetary support of the arts through zoning laws, access to public space and protection of the rights of artists.

In a management sense, it is important for the municipal government to recognize the spending trends of the Federal and State governments in respect to the arts. If the Federal and State governments are allocating monies only to specific projects, perhaps the municipality should focus on general operating and maintenance costs. It is important to understand that CETA spending in the arts exceeds that of the National Endowment for the Arts. With that example at hand, local government should attempt to

recognize the potential of non-traditional funding mechanisms for the arts.

The arena of "Arts Policy" is relatively new for Federal, State and local governments. It should continue as a shared task for maximum input and impact.³

The current City and County administration has made no comprehensive report on the arts. No mention of the arts was made in Mayor Feinstein's "State of the City" address.⁴ John Molinari, President of the Board of Supervisors, does not recall any statement on arts policy being made by the Board.⁵

This is not to say that arts and culture go unmentioned by San Francisco's current officialdom. In an address to a recent luncheon of the Financial Women's Club, Mayor Feinstein included the following in her report on San Francisco's economic and fiscal health:

...Economic indicators point to a fundamentally strong and growing economy, and they are bolstered even more when San Francisco's health as a city is measured by its burgeoning and thriving cultural institutions. We continue to have a standing room only Opera, Ballet, and Symphony; and this September will be opening a new \$35 million Performing Arts Center. Our museums are among the finest found anywhere. Last summer's exhibition of Egypt's "Treasures of Tutankhamun," "The Splendors of Dresden," and "5,000 Years of Korean Art" broke all international attendance records, and brought \$108 million into the City. The "King Tut" exhibit in particular demonstrated that San Francisco, a City of 660,000

people, outdrew every other U.S. city where it appeared. This clearly illustrates that Bay Area residents respond to this City as an artistic and cultural mecca.⁶

In remarks made on May 15, 1980 honoring the San Francisco Ballet, the mayor reaffirmed her theme of the role arts and culture play in bolstering the City's economic health.

Many of us in Government really view keeping cities alive artistically and culturally as the way in which the urban core center survives and grows today... I think the fact that our Opera travels all over the world is important. I think the fact that \$35 million has been raised in the private sector to build a Performing Arts Center so that the seats in that City Hall Complex will total 6,700 is incredible for a city of 660,000...

Let's keep the support coming; let's show it throughout the world, and let's make San Francisco the bright, shining star of art and culture in the United States.⁷

The importance of economic impact in determining the arts policy of the City and County of San Francisco comes through clearly in a report by Roger Boas, Chief Administrative Officer. Boas observes that, when the Publicity and Advertising Fund was established in 1961, San Francisco gained national recognition as a "model for city support of the arts." He goes on to point out that "at the same time, the City launched an investment

policy that continues to generate an excellent return, and that helped make the City a leader in the tourist industry."⁸

Mr. Boas outlines the way in which the arts not only enhance the City's image, but in light of the publicity of the tragic events that beset San Francisco in late 1978, "the arts are a healing agent." Appealing for an increase in the amount of money to be allocated to Publicity and Advertising (P&A) Fund, Mr. Boas contends that "a diverse, flowering arts program must be ready to complement the City's major industry...."⁹ To substantiate his case, Boas cites a recent report by the U.S. Conference of Mayors which concluded that "every dollar a city spends on the arts generates three to four dollars to the City, directly and indirectly."¹⁰

Despite the emphasis on art's attraction for tourism, Boas' report points out that the majority of the organizations receiving P&A funds are community-based groups "vital to the City's cultural diversity. These neighborhood programs...are serving visitors. They also are improving neighborhoods and districts, creating good will among the City's diverse ethnic populations and reaching audiences that might otherwise be neglected,

such as hospital patients, seniors and youths."¹¹ The role of the smaller arts groups in attracting tourists is affirmed by Boas. The report outlines how each of the different kinds of arts and cultural programs contributes to bringing visitors to San Francisco. The smaller arts groups like the Asian American Theater Workshop, People-in-Plazas, Galeria de la Raza, and Stern Grove Festival Association "with minimal awards...are making a striking contribution to attracting tourists."¹² The large arts organizations like the Opera, Symphony, Ballet, American Conservatory Theatre, and Museum of Modern Art play a key role in bringing visitors to the City. Boas concludes with the following statement: "By promoting culture and by creating a strong tourist bureau, the tourist business will be enhanced."¹³

We have uncovered no other statements addressing a comprehensive San Francisco policy toward the arts.

II. Official Agencies with Major Impact on the Arts in San Francisco

The purpose of this section is to identify where and how arts policy is made. We shall describe the five official local agencies that have major impact on San

Francisco's arts activities: The Art Commission, the War Memorial Board of Trustees, the Fine Arts Board of Trustees, the Asian Art Commission, and the Office of the Chief Administrative Officer. In each case we shall attempt to discuss the powers of these bodies, and where appropriate the procedures they employ.

In this chapter we shall not address the roles of a number of other agencies with impact on San Francisco's arts. These agencies include the San Francisco Unified School District, the San Francisco Community College District, the Public Library, the Academy of Sciences, the Recreation and Parks Commission, the Department of Real Estate, the Department of Public Works, and a variety of permit granting offices. Although each of these local bodies either conducts arts activities, or affects the way in which such activities are carried out or brought to the attention of the public, the agencies are not included because they are not primarily engaged in arts-related activities.

1. The Art Commission

A recent statement by Art Commission President Ray Taliaferro outlines the purpose of the Art Commission:

...it has been the intent of the Art Commission to maintain an overview of our artistic life and to create and support those performing and visual arts programs which foster a fuller participation in the arts by all San Franciscans. It is also the intent of the Commission to expand our city's cultural horizon by programming in areas that have heretofore received insufficient attention.¹⁴

Arts Commission Director Joan Ellison expands upon this statement by characterizing the Commission's thrust as "egalitarian" in its attempt to support "innovative art forms" and open doors for nonestablished artists.¹⁵

The City Charter delineates functions, powers, and duties of the Art Commission as follows:

Section 3.601 delineates the functions, powers and duties of the Commission:

- Every work of art to be contracted for, or placed or erected on city or county property, or becomes the property of the city and county by purchase, gift, or otherwise (except for any museum or art gallery), together with the proposed location of such work, shall first be submitted to, and approved by, the Art Commission.
- No existing work of art in the possession of the city and county shall be removed, relocated, or altered without the approval of the Commission.
- The Commission shall have similar powers with respect to the design of bridges, viaducts, elevated ways, approaches, gates, fences, lamps, or other structures erected, or to be erected, upon land belonging to the city and county, and concerning arches, bridges and approaches, which are the property of any corporation

or private individual and which shall extend over or upon any street, avenue, highway, park or public place belonging to the city and county.

- The Commission shall supervise and control the expenditure of all appropriations made by the Board of Supervisors for the arts, and the advancement of art or music.

- The Commission shall exercise all reasonable supervision of policy connected with the arts as may be assigned to it by ordinance or executive action.¹⁶

The Charter also states that the Commission's powers and duties "shall not limit the powers of the governing boards of the War Memorial or Fine Arts Museums."¹⁷

The Commission is also responsible for administering a program for screening, licensing, and monitoring street artists. An advisory Committee of Street Artists and Craftsmen Examiners, composed of five members recommended by the Arts Commission and appointed by the mayor, screens all applicants according to criteria for thirty-three categories of artwork and crafts.

Via Section 3.13 of the Administrative Code, the Arts Commission is also responsible for approving and recommending the amount of money to be spent on adornment for any structure erected on public land. Recommendation can be made to spend up to 2 percent of the total estimated

construction costs for adornment of the structure with
works of art.^{18, 19}

Section 6.400(a)(2)(E) provides that one-half cent on each one hundred dollars of assessed valuation of the property tax levy be given to the Arts Commission for the purpose of maintaining a symphony orchestra.²⁰ With these monies, the Commission has hired the San Francisco Symphony to present special performances, hired guest conductors and soloists and rented space in the Civic Auditorium to expand the audience of the Symphony.²¹

The Arts Commission is composed of twelve members who are appointed by the mayor and who serve without compensation for staggered five-year terms. The Charter requires that the composition of the Arts Commission be as follows: two architects, one landscape architect, one artist-sculptor, one artist-painter, one musician, one dancer, one actor or theatrical director or producer, one literateur, and three lay members. Five members serve ex-officio with full voting privileges: the mayor and the presidents of the Fine Arts Museums Board of Trustees, the Library Commission, the Planning Commission, and the Recreation and Parks Commission.²² According to Martin Snipper, Director of the Arts Commission for the past thirteen years, only the architect members of the Commission are screened by their professional peers. Representatives of the other art forms specified in the Charter are appointed

by the mayor and do not necessarily represent other artists. Moreover, no poet or novelist has ever served on the Commission. ²³

The Arts Commission's programs can be described as ambitious. Included are the San Francisco Arts Festival, the Commission's Fine Art Collection, the Art Enrichment Program, the Capricorn Asunder Gallery, "Pops" Concerts, the Civic Chorale, San Francisco Blues Festival, and the Neighborhood Arts Program. Because the latter is a major feature of San Francisco Arts Policy, it bears special mention.

The Neighborhood Arts Program (NAP) was created by the Arts Commission in 1967 "to foster the development of comprehensive arts programs and arts support services for the city's neighborhoods,"²⁴ Further, it was designed "...to improve the quality of urban life through encouragement and support of an active interest in the arts on a local and neighborhood level, and to establish liaison between community groups and increase support for neighborhood artists and cultural organizations."²⁵

In 1973, the NAP began to utilize CETA funding to hire artists and greatly increase the extent to which neighborhood arts activities could be developed and supported. Four neighborhood cultural centers now exist,

and a wide variety of events and programs are scheduled at these centers and at other locations in the City. Advisory Councils serve as liaison between the Cultural Centers and the community arts groups using the space. CETA support has diminished and other revenues have declined since the passage of Proposition 13. NAP efforts have been directed toward strengthening the capacity of the Cultural Centers. One approach has been to help them build local support groups and partnership opportunities with larger institutions.²⁶

2. War Memorial Board of Trustees

The purpose of the War Memorial Board of Trustees, according to its immediate past President, Frederic Campagnoli, is to serve primarily as a "landlord" to insure proper use of the buildings entrusted to its care.²⁷ Given the fact that these buildings house performances of San Francisco's major art institutions, their management and procedures constitute a significant feature of San Francisco's Art program.

The Charter (Section 6.404) requires the Board of Supervisors to appropriate annually an amount sufficient for maintaining, operating, and caring for the War Memorial.

The Board of Trustees' powers and duties include responsibility for construction, administration, and operation of the War Memorial Buildings and grounds, appointment of a secretary, a managing director, and other such employees as may be provided by the annual budget and appropriation ordinance.

Eleven members are appointed by the mayor with concurrence of the Board of Supervisors. The mayor is to "consider veterans and others with a special interest in the purpose of the War Memorial."²⁸ Members serve without compensation for staggered six-year terms and may be removed by the Board of Supervisors with the concurrence of the mayor. Proposals have been made by public officials recently to limit members to two consecutive four-year terms which would represent each of San Francisco's eleven election districts.²⁹

The San Francisco Symphony, Opera, and Ballet are the primary tenants of the War Memorial Buildings. Primary status carries certain benefits, including reduced rents, office space, and preferential scheduling. According to Trustee Campagnoli, the San Francisco Symphony is a beneficiary of a trust agreement between the Trustees and the Regents of the University of California, wherein the Symphony receives preferential booking rights.³⁰ This agreement was entered into on August 19, 1921. Section 8 covers the rights of the Symphony Association for the period

September 15 through April 15 during each concert season and includes conditions for post-season preference as well. The terms of this agreement must be invoked by written request of the Symphony Association by August 1 of any calendar year prior to the succeeding concert season.³¹

The Board of Trustees has wide latitude in setting criteria for rental of facilities and fixing rates. Regular and long-term tenants are given priority; consideration is also given to organizations or programs providing "basic civic cultural functions" and which currently receive support from the City and County. Reduced rents that apply to the San Francisco Symphony and San Francisco Opera only partially apply to the San Francisco Ballet, because it was a "later arrival on the scene" and didn't "request inclusion on the same basis."³² Applications by other or new organizations are considered on a case-by-case basis.

The Museum of Modern Art, a nonprofit organization independent of the City and County of San Francisco, occupies space in the War Memorial complex at no cost. The War Memorial Board of Trustees submits an annual report to the mayor documenting rental and performance data.

Currently, the Symphony and Opera performances and rehearsals tend to fill most of the space. It is expected that the new Performing Arts Center (PAC) will come under the jurisdiction of the War Memorial Board of Trustees.

This addition will expand the number of dates for use of the City's large performing facilities. The future relationship between the San Francisco Foundation for the Performing Arts whose fund raising brought the PAC into being and the War Memorial Board of Trustees which will serve as the PAC's official governing body is unclear.

3. The Fine Arts Museums Board of Trustees

In 1972, in accordance with Article 3, Chapter 5, Part 13 of the San Francisco Charter, the M. H. deYoung Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor were administratively merged to form the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. These museums function under a thirty-two-member Board of Trustees are responsible for management, superintendence, and operation. The mayor and the president of the Recreation and Park Commission serve ex-officio. The trustee may designate honorary trustees who have a seat but no vote. Trustees serve staggered five-year terms and are elected by a vote of the majority of the trustees currently in office. Subject to the budgetary and personnel provisions of the charter, the Board of Trustees has complete responsibility for operation of the Fine Arts Museum.³³

The powers and duties as set forth in the Charter are:

Meetings shall be held quarterly. The president or any six trustees may call special meetings.

An executive committee of the president and six other trustees shall be elected. It has the powers delegated to it by the full board, which may include all the board's powers.

It has exclusive control of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor and the M. H. deYoung Memorial Museum, and has the power to maintain, repair, or reconstruct buildings or to build new ones.

Any City and County funds used for the above are subject to the budget and annual appropriation ordinance.

The Recreation and Park Department shall maintain the museum grounds and furnish monies for '...necessary repair and embellishment of the grounds and unoccupied parts.'

The trustees appoint the director, three assistant directors, an executive secretary, and curators, who serve at the trustees' pleasure. All other appointments are subject to civil service and salary standardization provisions.

It must file an annual report with the controller.

It must comply with the terms of any donations.³⁴

In addition to its operations at the deYoung Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Fine Arts Board administers the Downtown Center of the Fine Arts Museum in Embarcadero Center.

4. Asian Art Commission

In 1969 a management agreement was signed between the M. H. deYoung Memorial Museum Board of Trustees (now the Fine Arts Board of Trustees) and the Committee for Asian Art and Culture (now the Asian Art Commission). This agreement delineates the jurisdictions of the two boards, since they administer two museums that are located in the same building. The provisions of this agreement are:

The Asian Art Commission must submit its budget to the Fine Arts Museums Trustees 'who shall submit the budget ...to the Mayor as part of the overall budget of the museum for further approvals.' The Trustees may at the same time submit comments regarding the budget and may recommend the increase, decrease, or rejection of any item in that budget. Supplemental requests must be submitted in this same manner.

The Asian Art Commission nominates a qualified person to be the director and chief curator of the Asian Art Museum '...and the trustees shall appoint the person so nominated...' That person is then responsible to the Asian Art Commission. Appointments to civil service exempt curatorial positions are to be made in the same manner as the appointment of the director and chief curator; other appointments are made by the director with the commission's approval and pursuant to applicable charter sections.

The director of the Asian Art Museum is given jurisdiction over anyone while performing work or services for the Asian Art Museum, except that building maintenance personnel are under the director's jurisdiction only '...to the extent that such activities involve or affect the maintenance, preservation, and display of the collections of asian art.' Otherwise such employees not on the staff of the Asian Art Museum are under the general jurisdiction of the fine arts museums trustees. Thus the Fine Arts Museums director supervises the maintenance of the floors, bathrooms, and windows of the Asian Art Museum.

Both parties pledge cooperation on coordinating exhibits, publications, photography, docents and volunteers, fund raising, and shared personnel.

Any disputes which arise between the directors of the two museums are to be resolved by the presidents of the commission. In the case of an impasse and upon the request of the chairs of the Asian Art Commission or the Fine Arts Museums Trustees, '...the Mayor shall appoint a committee of three persons not associated with...' the museums who shall recommend a solution to the Mayor which shall be binding on the two museums.³⁵

The purpose of the Asian Art Commission is to have overall responsibility for managing and controlling the collections of Asian art belonging to the City and County of San Francisco. Administrative Code (28.10) establishes the following powers and duties for the Asisan Art Commission:

Develop and administer an Asian Art Museum (formerly called the Center for Asian Art and Culture)

Control and manage the asian art collections with the Brundage Collection as the nucleus according to the agreements made with the Brundages (1959, 1963, and 1969)

Create a foundation (or other entity) for development

Promote, establish, and develop an acquisition fund

Collaboarate with groups for educational programs about asian art and culture

Provide through bylaws for the appointment of 1) an executive committee given the authority to act on behalf of the whole commission 2) and sub-committees.³⁶

The Commission is composed of twenty-seven members appointed by the mayor for staggered three-year terms to be served without compensation.

As with other public structures impacting on the arts in San Francisco, the history of the Asian Art Commission is extensive and complex. The major factor in its establishment was the need to create a responsible entity to oversee the Brundage collection of Asian art, which had been transferred to the City and County of San Francisco. A series of agreements were signed in 1959, 1963, and 1969. The 1969

agreement required the City and County to appoint an independent committee with a staff and budget adequate to perform its functions to control and manage the City and County's collection of Asian art.^{37, 38}

5. Publicity and Advertising Fund

Revenues from the Hotel Tax established in 1961 under California Government Code Section 26100 are designed:

...for advertising, exploiting and making known the resources of the County for the purpose of inducing immigration to, and increasing the trade and commerce of, said County, or for exhibiting or advertising, for said purposes, the agricultural, horticultural, viticultural, mineral, industrial, climatic, educational, recreational, artistic, musical, cultural and other resources or advantages of the County...³⁹

The Municipal Code of the City and County of San Francisco (Section 515) provides that:

The Chief Administrative Officer is hereby authorized and directed to expend from moneys appropriated in Section 515(9) those sums in his discretion deemed necessary to evaluate and review cultural, artistic or advertising programs funded for publicity and advertising purposes.⁴⁰

All Hotel Tax revenues not expended for publicity and advertising and other purposes set forth in state law "shall be appropriated to the General Fund."⁴¹

Since 1961 when San Francisco began employing the Hotel Tax, the rate has gone from 3 percent to 8 percent. The recent election (June 3, 1980) opens the possibility of a 9.25 percent hotel tax. Of the revenue raised, 50 percent goes to pay for the construction of the George Moscone Convention Center, 6.23 percent repay bonded indebtedness on Candlestick Park, 6.23 percent is set aside to finance low income housing in the Yerba Buena Redevelopment area.

The total amount of funds available for allocation to P&A are set by the mayor and Board of Supervisors. Four million dollars were appropriated for the publicity and advertising fund during fiscal year 1979-1980. This amounted to approximately 16 percent of the anticipated \$24 million in Hotel Tax revenues. The balance between 16 percent and the 37 percent not otherwise earmarked goes into the general fund.

In order to receive P&A funds, application must be made to the Office of Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). All applicants must adhere to the following instructions:

- 1) Each organization may submit only one application for FY 1980-81.
- 2) Organizations funded during 1979-80 must submit a final report in order to be eligible for the 1980-81 funding cycle. Format for report, due on or before June 15, 1980 will be sent to current recipients in May, 1980.

- 3) All forms must be typed.
- 4) Round figures off to the nearest dollar.
- 5) Awards are not made for material acquisitions, where the useful life of the items exceeds period of City contract, or for capital improvements.
- 6) Audience size and other numerical figures must be accurate accountings, based on available agency records, press, etc. If you must estimate attendance data, do so conservatively.
- 7) Activities to be financed must take place within the City's fiscal year, July 1, 1980 - June 30, 1981.
- 8) Fiscal year is a 12-month period for the purpose of reporting an organization's financial activity. These dates should coincide with those appearing in your financial statements, for example, July 1 - June 30, January 1 - December 31, or some other cycle.⁴²

The following information is solicited from applicants:
Organization's name, address, telephone; name of director, board president and application contact person; current budget; amount requested from P&A; dates of agency's founding; documentation of tax exemption; previous experience with P&A request; and geographic location of program. In addition, applicants are requested to provide narrative descriptions of program history and how use of requested funds would "satisfy the goals of the Publicity

and Advertising Fund by making the City more attractive to visitors, adding to San Francisco's reputation outside the City, and producing a positive economic impact on the City.⁴³ Numerical data are requested on staff, fees charged, and audience attendance. Complete listings of Board members are required, as are descriptions of their functioning and a letter of authorization from the board's president. Applicants are also requested to describe their physical facilities, days and hours of operation, membership or subscription program, cooperative arrangements with other groups, and detailed information on income and expenses including submission of a most recent financial statement.

This process and the criteria by which applications are judged were developed by an eight person advisory board established by the current CAO in 1977 and representing art and community interests, including two local foundation staff members. The following fifteen criteria are listed for assessing applications for funding:

1. The primary purpose of the program is promotional and/or cultural in nature.
2. The program makes San Francisco more attractive to visitors.
3. The program produces consistently high quality work

4. The program preserves the City's cultural identity and makes it a more desirable place to live.
5. The program adds to San Francisco's reputation outside the City.
6. The program has a positive economic impact on the City.
7. The program is managerially sound.
8. The program has proven its prudent use of funding.
9. The program reaches a broad number of people.
10. The program has already established permanency and credibility.
11. The program is supported by a participatory Board of Directors or advisory group and is a non-profit organization.
12. The % of Publicity and Advertising Funds being requested is appropriate to the project.
13. The program supports a policy of fair employment practice.
14. The service is not a duplication of similar efforts.
15. The program is not the primary responsibility of another governmental agency. 44

These criteria reflect three major questions: Will the proposed program make the City appealing to visitors? Will the proposed program contribute to the well-being of City

residents? Does the applicant agency have fiscal, managemental, and organizational integrity? The CAO Office receives requests for funds equal to almost twice the monies available. Funding is not provided to organizations that would collapse without it. Appeals regarding unsuccessful funding applications are taken to the CAO.⁴⁵

Successful applicants enter into formal contracts with the City and County of San Francisco. Grantees must accept a number of conditions including: (1) to utilize a reimbursement process for expenditures; (2) to notify the CAO's office of all performances, programs, placing the CAO's office on agency mailing lists, and submitting to the CAO all publicity materials and reviews of funded activities; (3) to acknowledge Hotel Tax Fund support in all appropriate printed materials, programs, press releases, etc.; and (4) to submit mid-year and final descriptive and expenditure reports.

P&A funds are allocated in four categories. About 66 percent is granted to art and cultural organizations, 26 percent to promotional organizations, 7 percent to

parades and special events and 1 percent is earmarked for administration of the fund. Specific details of P&A expenditures will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

III Public Financing for the Arts in San Francisco

It is the intent of this section to outline and describe the way in which local public monies are allocated to arts and culture. There are no consistent breakdowns of art financing by the various offices and reports that address this subject. In some cases, inclusion of arts activities has been defined in a highly restrictive manner; in other cases, the definition of arts activities has included educational and recreational expenditures. For some categories of public spending we found figures for the 1979-80 fiscal year; in other cases, we have had to use estimates or figures from earlier years. In every case possible, dollar figures will be attributed to the year(s) for which they apply.

In the 1977 Report of Mayor Moscone's office to the National League of Cities conference, six "distinct and major mechanisms" are identified as means for providing the arts with public financial support:

A. Direct Support: the City and County operating budget includes several departments whose primary purpose is the provision of art to the community. These departments include the Art Commission, the War Memorial, the Fine Arts Museums and the California Academy of Sciences. The budget primarily include a stable element of salaries, maintenance costs and some capital improvements. The City and County support of facilities, and maintenance of those facilities, provides support in the form of reduced fees or in some cases free office space for cultural institutions.

B. Indirect Support: several City and County departments whose primary function is the provision of art to the public include the Library, Recreation and Park, the School District and the Community College District. The bulk of this money is budgeted for salaries of art and music teachers. Additional money considered is that budgeted for art workshops and the purchase of books and supplies.

C. Hotel Tax: revenue is generated by a tax on hotel rooms in San Francisco. The revenue supports capital costs of a convention center, the costs of a Visitors and Convention Bureau and direct subsidy of both City and County arts institutions and nonprofit arts endeavors in the City and County. The ordinance creating the Hotel Tax and the subsequent P&A, Publicity and Advertising Fund for support of the arts speaks to the promotion of San Francisco. Funding of arts institutions are judged in keeping with that basic criteria. 1977-78 funding approximates \$2.5 million.

D. Federal Countercyclical Funds: the City and County is spending an annual appropriation over the five-year period of Revenue Sharing for capital construction of community cultural facilities and a portion of the costs of a new symphony concert hall. Economic Development Administration Public Works Funds are also being used for capital projects primarily involved in renovation of existing cultural facilities.

E. CETA: the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act has allowed the City and County an opportunity to directly support artists by creating artistic employment in city departments and non-profit organizations throughout San Francisco. The CETA Artists Program was created in San Francisco, modeled on similar efforts of the Works Progress Administration in the thirties. Approximately 250 jobs have been established.

F. Two Percent Artistic Embellishment: an ordinance allowing up to 2% of construction costs on new capital projects of the City and County for artistic embellishment, provides a mechanism for the purchase of primarily visual art. This vehicle has recently provided \$350,000 for the purchase of art at the new San Francisco General Hospital and will provide in excess of \$1.7 million dollars for the purchase of art in the expansion of San Francisco International Airport.⁴⁶

These categories are helpful in identifying the range of approaches to public financing of the arts. We have attempted to focus this report on those Departments where arts are directly supported by the City and County of San Francisco.

It is important to recognize the significant role played by such institutions as the San Francisco Unified School District and the San Francisco Community College District. In addition, activities and expenditures of several City and County Offices (e.g., the Recreation and Parks Department) are cultural in nature even though we have not addressed them in this report because arts are not the primary purpose of these departments. Yet the extent to which support for the arts is a feature of these other agencies is worth noting. For example, during the 1976-77 fiscal year, the Recreation and Parks Department budgeted over \$500,000 of ad valorem and over \$75,000 of P&A funds on arts activities. The San Francisco Unified School District estimated that over 2 million dollars would be spent in 1977-78 on arts, primarily education and administration.

Table 2-1 shows the budgeted expenditures for the five major arts directed agencies which only draw two kinds of City and County funds: ad valorem property taxes and Hotel Tax P&A monies. We concur with one of our sources for these figures who added a proviso: "...with the understanding that many budget figures are estimates due to the cryptic nature of San Francisco's budget and various fiscal years of the reporting institutions."⁴⁷

CHART 2-1

Budgeted Expenditures for Ad Valorem Property Taxes and Hotel Tax P&A Monies

Department	1976-77*		1977-78*		1978-79**		1979-80**	
	City/County Ad Valorem	P&A	City/County Ad Valorem	P&A	City/County Ad Valorem	P&A	City/County Ad Valorem	P&A
San Francisco Art Commission	\$351,064*	\$118,000*	\$398,862*	\$146,600*	\$416,498**	\$127,200	***	****
Fine Arts Museums	\$1,907,602*	0*	\$2,138,020*	\$3,450*	\$2,091,444**		\$2,201,717**	
Asian Arts Museum	\$418,759*	\$50,000*	\$444,179*	\$50,000*	\$425,009**	\$50,000	***	****
War Memorial (General)	\$651,760*	0*	\$808,085*	0*	\$1,054,600**	0*	\$1,147,335**	0
War Memorial (Art Museum)	\$197,455*	\$165,000*	\$206,487*	\$178,200*	\$148,272**	\$160,738	***	****

* From Municipal Funding for the Arts in San Francisco, "An Illustration".

** From City and County of San Francisco Fiscal Year 1979-80 Budget Guide, Board of Supervisors' Budget Analyst, January 1980.

*** From San Francisco's P&A Fund: Its Purpose, Benefits and Need for Expansion, Report by CAO, 1979.

**** From P&A Fund: Allocations from the San Francisco Tax, FY 1979-80 in Fraas Memo, p. 14.

Taking the 1979-80 budgeted funds as an example, we can examine the distribution of allocations to the City's major cultural institutions and to neighborhood or community based arts programs. Of the approximately \$4.3 million of ad valorem funds budgeted for arts, \$400,907 (a little more than 9 percent) was earmarked for the Art Commission, whose task is to develop and administer community arts.

In order to get a clearer picture of allocations for the arts and their distribution, it is important to look at P&A funding. During the 1979-80 fiscal year, Hotel Tax revenues were estimated at \$24 million. Committed funds (George Moscone Convention Center, Candlestick Park indebtedness, Yerba Buena low income housing development) amounted to \$16.2 million or 62.5 percent. Close to \$5 million (20.8 percent) was returned to the general fund. P&A funding came to \$4 million or 16.7 percent of Hotel Tax revenues. The total amount allocated to cultural organization parades and fund administration by P&A in 1979-80 was approximately \$2.9 million or about 72 percent. Of this \$2.9 million, approximately \$1.6 million or 55 percent was allocated to the City's major art organizations (Asian Art Foundation: \$50,000; Museum of Modern Art: \$208,332; San Francisco Symphony: \$409,172; San Francisco Opera: \$462,727; San Francisco Ballet: \$233,692; American Conservatory Theatre: \$234,245.)

It may be instructive to look at all direct public arts expenditures for the major departments, organizations,

and neighborhood arts. When adding ad valorem tax monies (\$4.3 million), P&A funds earmarked for cultural organizations, parades, and administration (\$2.9 million), and the special one-half cent per one hundred dollars for the San Francisco Symphony committed by the Charter (\$.2 million), the total comes to approximately \$7.4 million. Of this amount, over \$5.6 million or slightly more than 75 percent went to the City's major arts organizations.

In her paper, "San Francisco Civic Funding for the Arts: Who Pays? Who Benefits?", Ceci Brunazzi analyzed arts allocations for the 1974-75 fiscal year. She found that San Francisco spent approximately \$4.8 million on the arts. Of this amount, Brunazzi reports that approximately \$4.2 million or 88 percent went to support the City's major cultural institutions. Brunazzi points out that the figure of \$4.2 million fails to reflect "other indirect but substantial forms of economic support which the City provides to some cultural institutions: namely, rent-free space provided to the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in the Veteran's Building, reduced rental fees for performance time, and free rehearsal time provided to the symphony and opera in the Opera House."⁴⁸

Brunazzi raises another issue in looking at the distinction between the funding mechanisms for the major institutions and the community/neighborhood arts organizations. "The cultural institutions not only receive an inordinate share of the funding, but many of them enjoy a relative stability since support for physical facilities and ongoing sub-

sidies have attained the status of secure budget line items..." providing these institutions with the security needed for long term planning, organizational growth, and efficiency.⁴⁹

Reviewing audience studies, Brunazzi concludes that "the average San Franciscan is in the peculiar position of subsidizing cultural institutions which are heavily attended by non-San Franciscans and that the lower or middle income citizen is subsidizing cultural programs attended by the monied."⁵⁰

Brunazzi raises critical questions in analyzing San Francisco arts policy. In the final section of this chapter, we expand on these questions and raise some more.

IV. Questions for the Development of Arts Policy in San Francisco

It has been the purpose of this chapter to report on existing statements of arts policy in San Francisco, describe the official agencies responsible for carrying out arts activities and program support, and wade into the complex and inconsistent array of fiscal data. This section will attempt to synthesize many of the questions raised in the process of gathering and interpreting data.

1. Making Arts Policy for San Francisco

- ° Which City and County Government agencies are responsible for developing a public policy on arts? Within those agencies, who shall be responsible?

° Should one agency have coordinating responsibility for assessing needs (and/or seeing that needs have been assessed)?

° In what ways and with what emphasis should San Francisco's communities (neighborhoods, ethnic, business, cultural, educational, etc.) be engaged in formulating arts policy?

How is this participation to be encouraged and supported?

° Should there be a formal, clearly stated official arts policy for the City and County? Or would such a statement be constraining or tend toward rigidity?

° Should arts policy transcend the changes of administration in the Office of Mayor and Board of Supervisors?

2. Defining Arts and Culture

° Should consensus be sought on a definition of "art" and "culture"? Should this definition be periodically reviewed?

° Should the definition process draw upon "academic" and/or "technical" expertise? Should it be a community/political process?

° Should City and County agencies all operate under the same definition of arts and culture?

3. Defining Who is to be Served and How Priorities Are to be Established

° Is there such a thing as equity in arts policy?

° Who is to be served by a public policy on the arts?

The economic well-being of the City and County including business and labor? The consuming public? Artists? Youth? Persons who are infirm or disabled?

° Among the groups to be served, are there some with unique or special claims for service necessitating special mention in arts policy?

4. Administering San Francisco's Arts

° Who should administer the City and County's arts programs? Should it be a single agency or Commission? Should a variety of agencies manage San Francisco's arts?

° To what extent should arts administration be centralized or decentralized?

° How shall City and County arts administration be governed? Trustees or directors appointed by the Mayor? By the Board of Supervisors? By individual supervisors according to district?

° Who shall participate in the process of selecting trustees and directors? Consumers? Artists? Business? Labor? Ethnic and/or neighborhood groups?

° To what extent should this participation emphasize the contributions of individuals or organizations?

° Who should these trustees be? Who should these directors be? Artists? Technicians? Public Administrators? Lay-people? Elected representatives of ethnic/neighborhood/community groups? Persons sharing their personal art collections or financial resources with the City and County?

5. Funding San Francisco's Arts

° What are the arts worth to the City and County of San Francisco? Should a specific percentage of all revenues

be directed toward the arts? How would it be determined? Should it be a specific dollar amount with an annual percentage change?

- What criteria can be applied to different kinds of arts and arts organizations in determining amounts or percentages of public revenues to be spent?
- Who shall participate in that process?
- How shall such expenditures be monitored and evaluated?

By whom?

- To what extent should public funds be used to support basic operating expenses of arts organizations? What kinds of public dollars should go to programs or projects as opposed to operating expenses?

- How variable should public support for the arts be?

Should all arts organizations compete annually for public revenues? Do some arts organizations require longer, more stable periods of funding?

- How much weight should be placed on funding for development as opposed to funding for continuance?

- To what extent should arts organizations or constituencies be held responsible for generating their own revenues or resources?

- Is it possible to determine categories of arts beneficiaries either in terms of art services received or financial benefits accrued? To what extent should public funding be related to the needs and gains of various kinds of beneficiaries?

- What are the indirect public supports provided to arts organizations? Are they equitable? Should they be?
- What mechanism can be established to insure development of new art forms, opportunities for new artists, and meeting the needs of changing audiences as well as sustaining art traditions?
- Is there a "primary audience" for which public support for the arts shall be directed? City residents? Bay Area residents? Tourists?
- To what extent and in what way can revenues be administered through other City and County agencies (for which art and culture are not the primary focus) to the best advantage of San Francisco's arts?
- How can federal, state, foundation, corporate and private monies best be obtained, integrated and used for the arts in San Francisco?

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36. Ibid., p. 3.
37. Ibid., pp. 3-4; 6-7.
38. Directory and Guide to Galleries of Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.
39. Materials published by the San Francisco Chief Administrative Officer, October, 1979.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. San Francisco (City and County) "P&A Grant Application Instructions" 1979.
43. Ibid.
44. Fraass, Jr. Memo to Arts Task Force, February 4, 1980 p. 13.

45. Dement, P. (Program Director, Publicity and Advertising). Personal communication, June 2, 1980.
46. Municipal Funding of the Arts in San Francisco "An Illustration." 1977, pp. 1-2.
47. Ibid.
48. Brunazzi, C. San Francisco Civic Funding for the Arts: Who Pays? Who Benefits?, pp. 2-3.
49. Ibid., p. 3.
50. Ibid.

SURVEY OF EXISTING RESEARCH ON THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE
ARTS ON THE URBAN ECONOMY

In this chapter, we shall:

- ° Identify the more prominent recent studies that attempt to estimate the urban economic impacts of expenditures on nonprofit arts.
- ° Identify the research done on the City and County of San Francisco, and outline the impact of that government's arts expenditure on the total economic activity, local employment, and local public revenues.
- ° Report the main findings of these studies, assuming they are reasonably accurate.
- ° Suggest, in the most tentative way and within very wide margins, a few dimensions of nonprofit arts expenditure impacts on the San Francisco economy.

We have centered our work on the nonprofit arts sector because this sector receives the overwhelming majority of public funds allocated to the arts as well as the major benefits of private philanthropy. Our use of the term "economic impact" indicates the relationship between a city's arts expenditure and the level of that city's total economic activity, employment, and public revenues, i.e., the amount of a city's income, employment and public revenue that can be attributed to nonprofit

arts activities. We also report on the far less quantitative and structured analyses that link a city's economic growth to its arts and cultural environment.

A Note of Caution

In view of this report's secondary nature and its short preparation time, we must draw attention to the following important limitations:

- ° The impact projections dealing specifically with San Francisco are drawn largely from one study Mickley, (SRI); thus, that data employs 1976 prices, fees, and tax rates. We have not adjusted these figures to 1980 levels.
- ° The research reported on has not been subject to close critical review.
- ° No primary research for San Francisco was undertaken. All data have been collected by others and not necessarily for this paper.

Moreover, in this chapter, we do not report on the few studies that deal with the issues of efficiency and equity. Thus, we do not attempt to identify and measure the benefits accrued to a city's residents from public support for the arts; the public "costs" of that support; or the way in which these benefits and costs are distributed among the various subgroups (e.g., low income, high income) within the City. Three elements essential for an analysis of these concerns are: (1) A distinction between market and social determinations of costs and benefits; (2) A concern with the efficiency with which a

given sum of public funds is allocated among the various arts activities; and (3) The equity with which the benefits and costs of the publicly supported arts programs are distributed among the subgroups of the City's population.¹

Though the goals for this analysis are partly economic, the issues raised are largely political and public policy in nature. As such, they involve questions of the social value of the arts, who should benefit, and who should pay. Given the limitations noted, the material presented herein can be helpful in three ways: (1) By suggesting the mechanism by which arts activities affect a city's economy; (2) By defining the magnitude and range of economic impacts, in particular, on San Francisco; and (3) By providing a view of the different approaches that can be taken to articulate and measure the impact of the arts, to determine the assumptions that are involved, and the means needed to undertake a detailed, full-scale analysis for San Francisco.

Four recently published works survey the empirical work done by others on the economic impact of the nonprofit arts and also offer their own generalizations and additional data. These are:

- California Arts Council. 1979-80 Budget Report to the Legislature. (Sacramento: The California Arts Council, 1979)
- Perloff, Harvey S. The Arts in the Economic Life of the City, (New York, New York: American Council for the Arts, 1980)

◦ U. S. Conference of Mayors, The Taxpayer's Revolt and the Arts, (Washington, D. C.: The U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1978)

◦ Waskin, Leon S. The Economic Impact of the Arts in California: A Policy Perspective, February, 1980

Together, these studies suggest a consensus of the key empirical research that has been done, particularly at the level of a city economy. Their generalizations are based largely on studies of seven American cities: New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Washington, D. C., and San Francisco. The San Francisco study, done under the leadership of Richard Mickley for the Stanford Research Institute (SRI), is our major source of arts impact information for San Francisco.² Its findings will be discussed in detail. Each of these studies generally appears to favor one of three different methods of estimating the impact of arts expenditure on the urban economy: (1) The expenditure multiplier; (2) Input-output analysis; and (3) A central city growth model. The possible conclusions for San Francisco depend largely on extrapolations from the SRI report, which applies the expenditure multiplier approach. Therefore, we shall first concentrate on an examination of this theory and those city studies that are illustrative of it, with a detailed analysis of the SRI study to follow. Then, we will examine the input-output analysis and central city growth models.

I. The Expenditure Multiplier Approach

An expenditure multiplier model is the most common approach

used in the studies reviewed. It involves:

- ° Identifying the level of expenditures in a city for a given year made by those engaged in arts activity, (e.g., the annual expenditures of the San Francisco Opera).
- ° Adding to this amount an estimate of expenditures ancillary to arts activity, such as restaurant dinners purchased by patrons and the expenditures of visiting performers. (Taken together, these two figures represent "direct" arts and related expenditures.)
- ° Estimating the indirect local expenditures induced by these two direct expenditures.

The amount of spending induced by arts and related expenditures is seen to depend on the size of the expenditure multiplier, discussed below. The sum of direct and induced expenditure levels equals the total increase in local expenditures attributable to the arts.

The Expenditure Multiplier

The expenditure multiplier (K_L in Chart I) assumes a process by which the initial primary expenditure made by local government, local business investment, and/or export demand (including tourists) and through successive rounds of expenditure on locally produced goods and services generates a multiple of itself in total local expenditures. For example, of one dollar of City funds paid to an employee of the San Francisco Symphony in salary, a portion will be spent on locally produced goods and services; another portion will be spent on products from outside the City, and the rest will be saved. The portion spent locally goes to local businesses which, in turn, spend a portion of that locally (e.g., on wages). The

remainder "leaks out" to outside suppliers, and savings, until the leakages exhaust the initial spending injection. The larger and more diversified the local economy (i.e., self-supporting), the more likely money received locally will be spent locally, thus increasing the expenditure multiplier.

The total increase in local expenditure caused by the initial primary expenditure will be a multiple of the latter, the size of which depends on the proportion of the increase in income that recipients tend to spend on locally produced goods and services.

A typical multiplier is calculated as $K_L = \frac{1}{1-\text{mpc}_L}$ where mpc_L

is defined as the marginal propensity to consume locally produced goods and services. The SRI study has estimated an arts expenditure multiplier for San Francisco to be 2.22. One prominent scholar in this field considers this estimate to be "a more scientifically-based multiplier estimate ..." than most attempted.³

Conceptually, all local business investment and non-resident local expenditures (both tourist and regional patron) that are directly related to arts activity can be treated as part of the direct expenditure to which the multiplier is applied. In this formulation, primary arts activity expenditures, such as salaries for performers, are lumped with the other expenditures into an "aggregate" (A_a) which is then multiplied by an

expenditure multiplier (K_L), the value of which is usually obtained from another source of city research or estimated from national data. Thus, we have

$$A_a \circ K_L = E$$

E being the total local expenditure in a given year attributed to arts activity.

Analysis of the Model

Use of this model, which gives a maximum causal role to arts activities, credits them with inducing ancillary expenditures. The total increase in local expenditures is the same, but more of the ancillary expenditures would be attributed to arts activity per se.

Since the concern here is with the public role in the arts, we shall focus on the economic impact of local public expenditures on the arts; in particular, the nonprofit arts. The funds that cover the expenditures (budgets) of this arts group are from three sources: (1) ticket sales and other operating revenues; (2) private donations; and (3) public funds.

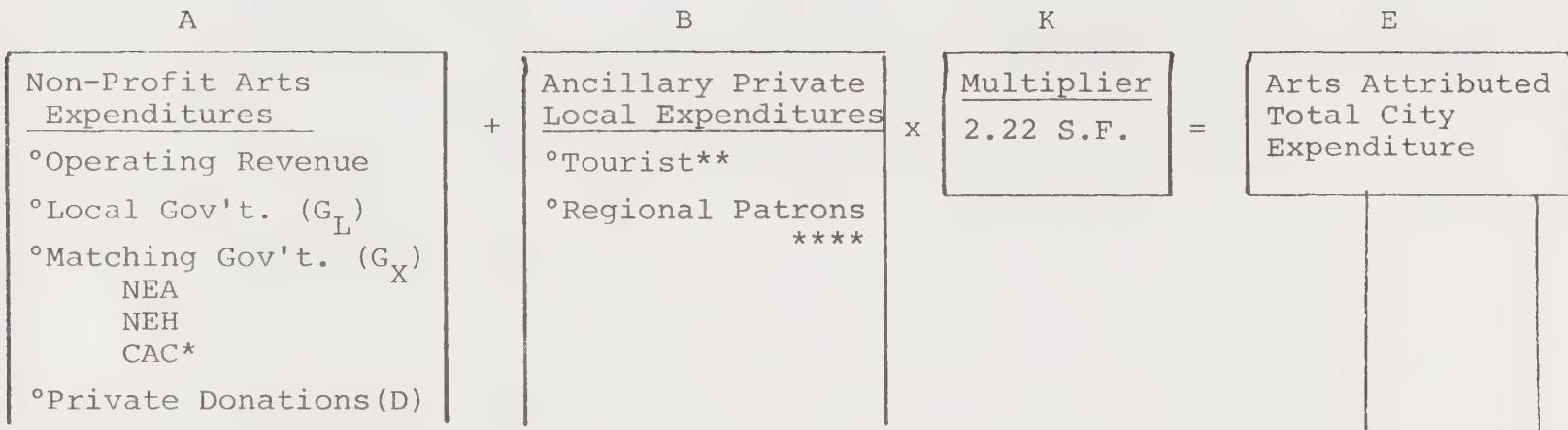
Most studies assume that ticket sales and private donations are not sufficient to cover the budget. Thus, it is argued that government funds are necessary to ensure the stable functioning of the nonprofit arts. These government funds can, in turn, be divided into two parts, money from city funds (G_L) and matching money from external government sources (G_X).

The model outlined above is presented in Chart I which integrates the data with general concepts. It also identifies implications for employment and local government revenues.

CHART I

The Economic Impact of Not-For-Profit Arts

A Multiplier Approach



* For example: the 1979-80 budget for the California Arts Council involves the following matching funds for local arts programs by type:

Education: \$1,530,000 (13%)
 Social institutions: \$500,000 (4%)
 Local arts: \$4,500,000 (38%)
 Prominent organizations: \$11,500,000 (13%)
 Touring groups: \$850,000 (6%)

** For example: looking only at persons staying overnight in commercial accommodations, the San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau estimated that in 1978 these persons spent a total of \$829 million, of which 44.4% were for hotel-supplied room, food and lunch, 18.2% for restaurants, and 8.1% for entertainment. (1978 statistics summary, p. 11.)

*** The Visitor Bureau estimate is suggestive here, for overnight group expenditures, of \$31.5 million on local transportation in 1978.

**** The importance of the regional patron to San Francisco is indicated by T. Scitovsky's estimate for 1971 that admissions to "live performances of legitimate theatre and music" was "more than 1.8 million." He comments that this "probably exceeds those in any city of comparable size anywhere in the world." However, he adds that "... when one remembers our suburban way of life and the fact that San Francisco is the downtown of 4.5 million Bay Area residents, this turns out to be ... more in keeping with our low national average." 4

Employment--Arts Induced
 Direct in the Arts
 In ancillary goods and services
 General diffused

Arts-Induced City Public Rev.
 Hotel tax
 Sales tax
 Property tax
 License & Parking fees***
 Transit fares***

The SRI study gives maximum leverage to city arts expenditure (G_L) attributing all or most of the effects under E to G_L . In other words, a kind of "super dollar" is implied because the total arts expenditure, A, is credited to local government support, G_L ; and ancillary expenditure is attributed to the existence of A, the arts programs. Their combined sum, A+B, is then "run through" the multiplier, K_L , yielding the full increase in total local expenditures, E. The latter figure is used to infer increases in employment and city revenues. All of these increases SRI attributes to the "initial" G_L .

A less sanguine view might attribute only matching funds, G_X , to G_L , as would seem reasonable. From this perspective, one could credit local government support with a portion of E (total arts-induced expenditures) equal to the proportion of the total arts budget comprised of the sum $G_L + G_X$. For example, if city funds plus external government matching funds constitute 30 percent of the arts budget, then local government support would be credited with 30 percent of the increase in total expenditures, employment, and local revenues.

When we consider private donations, D, the analysis becomes far more speculative. One might argue that D behaves like matching funds in that it is stimulated by public arts support. An opposite view is that D behaves in a "rescue" fashion, filling the gap made by inadequate or flagging public support. Baumol and Bowen, in their major economic study of the per-

forming arts, report that there has been no systematic attempt to determine the nature of that relationship. They speculate that "... government grants to the performing arts would [not] necessarily drive away private donors." They point to "developments in the field of education [which] provide evidence to the contrary.⁵

In any case, donation "expenditures" do have a multiple impact on the City's economy in a manner similar to public expenditure. Therefore, a policy able to induce such donations is economically desirable.

Estimates of Employment Impact

Given the increase in total local expenditure attributed to arts expenditure, one can make a very rough estimate of the amount of associated employment generated by using previously estimated aggregate coefficients that link changes in total expenditure to changes in total employment for the region. The SRI study takes this approach (but only in a limited way); we will report its employment projections below.

Estimate of City Public Revenue Yields from Arts Expenditure

Public revenues produced by arts activities can be estimated by identifying the induced increase in expenditures in the city economy grouped by revenue yield sources: taxes and user charges. More specifically, this would entail the following:

- Sales taxes on attendee ancillary purchases;
- Sales taxes on materials and supplies purchases by arts activities;

- Sales taxes associated with the projected increase in retail spending due to the multiplier effect;
- Parking tax, parking fees and transit fares associated with the attendance at arts activities;
- Property tax yield resulting from any net increase in assessed valuation of private property -- caused by the presence of arts activities (the approach taken by the SRI Performing Arts Study reported on below);
- It would also be appropriate (which SRI does not do) to subtract from the above total, any increases in public outlays made necessary by the increased economic activity induced by the supported arts programs, e.g., increased police services.

A Summary of the Main Findings in the Seven City Studies

The Conference of Mayors' report is typical of the generalized conclusions of the seven city studies. It states that "(f) for every one dollar of funds spent for the arts, it has been estimated that between three and four dollars are generated for the city, directly and indirectly."⁶ The main findings of each of the city studies are given below.

Indianapolis

A 1976 study on the economic impact of the arts found that more than one thousand persons employed in "art-related activities" with a payroll of \$5,891,972, produced the "ripple effect throughout the community raised [the city's] income by approximately \$24 million."⁷ This implies an income multiplier of approximately 4.0 which is at the extreme upper end of the art impact multiplier estimates we have encountered.

New York City

This Broadway Theatre study estimated a multiplier of the direct expenditures on the arts of 1.6 for New York City. Looking only at the direct effects of a 1975 strike at nine Broadway theatres, the study reported that, based on a shortfall of \$59.6 million in theatre-connected receipts over five weeks (\$11.9 million per week), taxi revenues fell \$117,000 per week; parking lot revenues fell \$50,000 per week; and restaurant revenues fell \$510,000 per week.⁸

Chicago

The Chicago Council of Fine Arts study found that audiences of 164 nonprofit arts and cultural organizations spent \$76 million within the city's metropolitan area in 1976. The organizations themselves spent \$80 million. Thus, the total arts-related expenditure was \$156 million. This was then multiplied by 3.0, the assumed multiplier, resulting in a total of \$467 million in expenditures attributed to and induced by these arts activities.⁹

Baltimore

The Cwi and Lyall study on the Baltimore SMSA is the most careful and rigorous city study. Using an elaborated and modified multiplier analysis, the authors focused on eight arts institutions that represented "the core of Baltimore's fully professional arts resources."¹⁰ Using 1976 data, they found that these institutions had a combined total direct expenditure of \$9,418,304. For fiscal year 1976, they found the following economic consequences:

Direct wage and salary payments: \$4,041,222
Direct and related employment: 1175 jobs
Spending by guest artists: \$68,247
Total audience spending (other than ticket price): \$4,515,993
Percent of audience from out of region: 6%
Spending by audience from out of region: \$1,891,392
Art institutions-related tax payments to local government: \$151,767
Total local government contributions to eight institutions: \$1,578,545
Average expenditures per local party other than ticket: \$6.60
Out of region: \$30.32 11

Washington, D. C.

The Washington Regional Arts Project on the Arts in Washington, D. C. found the following "preliminary" data:

- ° Expenditures among Washington's nonprofit arts organizations were estimated to exceed \$25 million (in 1975). The economic impact of these direct expenditures exceeds \$50 million, suggesting a multiplier of 2.0.
- ° They found that an art gallery that attracts only twenty-five people per day generates dollars for the economy (we assume this means total expenditure) equal to a business with an annual payroll of \$125,000. Assuming an average yearly salary of \$15,000, this would imply the ability to create approximately eight jobs. 12

Philadelphia

The Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance found (for 1974) that "the result of attracting an additional 100 out-of-town visitors per day to the city's cultural organizations (calcu-

lated on a yearly basis) would be:

- \$78,000 in taxes
- estimated \$144,000 in bank deposits
- \$1,200,000 in retail sales
- 111 new industry-related jobs."

This report also estimated that "for every \$7 spent on an art or cultural event ... an additional \$5.60 was spent on ancillary services." ¹³

Existing Direct Research on San Francisco: The SRI Study

It is clear that San Francisco is an integral part of the Bay Area economy and that a significant amount of economic activity induced by the arts in San Francisco spills over into the surrounding region. In addition, a significant proportion of patronage for San Francisco arts activity comes from this surrounding region. Arts policy clearly has regional implications. However, the focus of our attention is the economic impacts specific to the City and County of San Francisco. Toward this end, we will limit our analysis to those nonprofit arts groups funded by the City, excluding the arts programs of various public agencies (such as the S. F. Unified School District, the Community College District, libraries, and Parks and Recreation).

The only clear-cut attempt we have found to estimate arts expenditure impacts (especially those of local government expenditures) on the San Francisco economy is the SRI study. This study was prepared for the Sponsors of San Francisco

Performing Arts Center, Inc. "The objective . . . (was) to forecast, on a preliminary basis, the use, financial performance, and local economic impact of the planned new performing arts facilities in San Francisco." ¹⁴ SRI claims to have "...analyzed all available existing studies and projections of the use, financial performance, and economic impact of the proposed development. In addition, detailed ... interviews were held with the management of the War Memorial and Trustees and staff of the ... primary users of the proposed" new and improved facilities. Managers of other major performing arts centers were also contacted. ¹⁵

We must emphasize that all SRI calculations are based on 1976 prices, wages, tax rates, and fees. The analysis did not attempt to project inflation trends. In short, it was assumed the world would remain as in 1976. We have not adjusted these estimates to a 1980 base; thus, the findings (assuming they were reasonably accurate in 1976) cannot be read very literally for 1980, especially in regard to their absolute values. Their major usefulness is: (1) to demonstrate the most commonly used approach to the impact question; (2) to offer a sense of the relative relationships (as seen by SRI) between expenditures in the "major" performing arts, especially public arts expenditure, and the resulting impact on San Francisco's economy; and (3) as a basis for extrapolating to the full set of nonprofits arts.

A Summary of the SRI Findings

As for total expenditure impact, E, the study predicted that the proposed concert hall will generate "... local economic benefits ... estimated to total \$5.5 million per year." ¹⁶

This was explained as follows:

- "The principle base for this ... is the 237 new events estimated to occur annually (that) will result in ... 500,000 (additional admissions). These ... sales will support growth of resident performing arts groups and ... touring attractions." ¹⁷
- "(N)ew payrolls from the new hall's operations will result in a total annual ... economic impact on the city's economy of an estimated \$1,332,000 ... increased related spending by attendees (... e.g., for restaurants...) [will total \$3,860,000 annually]. ¹⁸
- "New local purchases of materials and supplies to operate the new hall and increased local spending by additional touring performing artists" [will increase local annual spending by \$320,000]. ¹⁹

Note that the expenditure figures specified in the second and third items above total \$5,512,000, which is the total annual impact figure predicted. This figure was determined by taking initial expenditures in the following categories: payrolls, related attendee spending, operating expenses, and touring artist expenditures, then multiplying each by the 2.22 multiplier, which SRI estimated to be the appropriate magnitude ²⁰ (see Chart 4-1). This multiplier is based on a "self-sufficiency index" in which San Francisco is assigned a value of 55 percent from which the multiplier 2.22 is estimated. By this methodology, New York City would be assigned a value of 70 percent, which yields a multiplier of 3.32. This figure

is markedly different from the multiplier of 1.6 cited in the Baumol study of the 1975 New York theatre strike, but these two figures are not comparable due to the different methodologies that produced them. In short, the SRI study estimates annual primary expenditures associated with the operation of the Performing Arts Center to be \$2,784,600. With an estimated multiplier of 2.22, the total annual increase in local spending was projected to be \$5.5 million (see Chart 4-1).

CHART 4-1

PERFORMING ARTS CENTER MULTIPLIER IMPACT

<u>Item</u>	<u>Initial Annual Expenditure</u>	<u>Multiplier</u>	<u>Total Annual Expenditure Impact</u>
Increased payrolls	600,000	2.22	1,332,000
Additional attendee spending	2,240,000	2.22	3,860,000
Increased materials purchased	73,000	2.22	160,000
Increased visiting artists	71,600	2.22	160,000
TOTALS:	2,784,6000	2.22	5,512,000

Source: Mickley, R. B., Preliminary Feasibility Study of a Proposed San Francisco Performing Arts Center, Stanford Research Institute, 1976.

The Economic Impact of San Francisco's Public Arts Expenditures

Our chief concern is the impact of local public expenditures for the arts. SRI discusses this question in the context of the Performing Arts Center; and their report concludes that:

- "...the following ongoing benefits will result from the net \$61,400 annual expenditure by the city." ("Net" here means after related increases in city revenue have been included.)
- "an increased ongoing economic benefit to the San Francisco economy of ... \$5.5 million annually, caused directly by the existence and operation of the new facilities."
- "Protection of the existing San Francisco Opera, Symphony, and Ballet, which already have an \$18.1 million favorable impact on the local economy." 21

Ignoring the reference to "protection" of the Opera and Symphony, which might be taken to mean crediting G_L (city government expenditure) with some major proportion of the \$18.1 million benefits, the SRI study seems to suggest that as of 1976, for every net dollar spent by the city government annually on supporting the Performing Arts Center, \$89.58 in annual increases in local expenditures result.

$$\frac{\$5,500,500}{61,400} = \$89.58$$

It is more instructive to discuss this relationship in terms of "gross" public expenditures (i.e., the estimated city outlays before revenue receipts are deducted). This figure is estimated at \$151,700 annually.²² Given SRI's reasoning, it follows that:

(1) an average dollar of public expenditure on the Performing Arts Center results in a \$36.26 increase in total economic activity.

$$\frac{\$5,500,500}{\$151,700} = \$36.26$$

Mickley's method of arriving at this figure yields other interesting information regarding public arts spending impacts.

(2) In regard to "Increased Revenue to the City and County of San Francisco," he estimates that \$90,300 will accrue annually directly "as a result of the operations of the new concert hall." 23 This is comprised of:

- Sales tax (1 percent gross sales) on:

attendee ancillary purchases	\$24,000
materials purchased	1,000
payroll-induced increased spending	3,300

- parking tax and associated revenues (1976 rates) 7,000

- increased net property tax 55,000
(i.e., revenue from greater assessed valuation (1976 tax rate))

Total City increased revenue \$90,300

Next, the question of the usual nonprofit arts fiscal deficit is considered. In regard to the Performing Arts Center, SRI specifically assigns the covering of its annual deficit (estimated at \$151,700) "as an expense to be met by the City..." 24

The fiscal and economic impact of this expenditure is treated as the core issue. They predicate that the \$151,700 annual City expenditure on the Performing Arts Center "will result in:

- an annual increase of \$5.5 million total expenditure in the City,
- an annual increase in revenues to the City of \$90,300,
- the 'protection' of Opera and Ballet, and
- 'cultural benefits ... of an additional 237 major performing events annually.' "

A Qualification

We must emphasize the important qualifications on these figures.

(1) SRI seems to be assuming that all of the economic impacts associated with the Performing Arts Center are attributable to City expenditures, i.e., in terms of our model (G_L) are super dollars with all of A and B attributed to it.

The implied reasoning seems to be that unless the City undertook to cover the deficit, there would be no new Performing Arts Center, and therefore all of the economic stimulus resulting from the Center would be credited to the public money.

A more conservative view might assign the public money a share of the results agreed to its outlay plus matching funds share of the nonprofit budget. Applying this to the SRI analysis of the Performing Arts Center, total operating costs

are estimated at \$493,000 (1976) and City-covered deficit is projected as \$151,700.²⁵ This is 31 percent of the operating budget. This, however, does not account for matching money attracted by City money, nor a share of the ancillary expenditures. On these grounds, it might be reasonable to reduce the impact figures attributed by SRI to public dollars by, say, 35 to 40 percent.

Looking at the full range of nonprofit arts activities supported by the City, the Performing Arts Center very likely represents the upper end, where they ranked with regard to their income-generating capacity. This capacity depends on such factors as the amount of ancillary expenditures made by performance attendees, especially by nonresidents. This is likely to be highest for the Center performances because of:

- The higher per-capita income of their patrons
- The higher proportion of attendees who are nonresidents. (SRI estimates this to be over half of total attendees.)²⁶
- Rental income for the use of facilities during slack time and rental from the parking garage are likely to be far higher (SRI estimates these combined to be 19 percent of the total operating budget).²⁷

- ° Local expenditures made by visiting artists while performing at or using the facility are likely to be far higher. (SRI estimated this to be \$71,600 per year).

Mickley made no attempt to identify and subtract the added City operating costs associated with the economic expansion induced by the arts expenditure such as police services associated with arts performances.

Taking these qualifications into account, for all nonprofit arts activities, we would suggest a ratio between public arts money and economic activity 40 to 60 percent less than SRI estimated for the Performing Arts Center.

Arts Expenditure: Employment Impacts

The SRI study allows only the roughest suggestion of the employment generation capability of City arts expenditures.

These bits of impact projections are offered:

- ° "The operation of the proposed concert hall ... will provide new and continuing employment for some 21 persons." 28 Estimated annual payroll of \$263,000, i.e., an average yearly salary of \$12,324 in 1976 dollars. Since the total operating budget was estimated to be \$493,000, salary costs make up 53 percent, or one job for every \$23,476 in operating expenditures in 1976 dollars.
- ° "The Musicians' Union estimates ... jobs for another 90 musicians for about six months" per year. 29 This payroll is estimated at \$600,000.

Thus, if we add the two payroll figures (\$263,000 + \$600,000 = \$863,000) and divide by (21 + 45 = 66), the number of full-time jobs created by direct performing arts programs, we get

a salary per job of \$13,075 in 1976 dollars.

Note: 53 percent of this budget goes to salaries:

i.e., $\frac{\$263,000}{\$493,000}$ — 21 jobs

More broadly, a total performing arts budget of \$493,000 1976 dollars is estimated to generate directly:

66 jobs averaging 13,075 per year in salary.

To estimate the expected secondary employment impacts, we would have to establish a connection between the remaining total expenditures of \$5 million and jobs created thereby.

The SRI study makes no attempt to do so.

• "The combined annual budgets of the opera, symphony and ballet annually total \$11.8 million (1976). The bulk of this goes into payroll for the 325 people ... directly employed on a full-time basis, and the more than 2,000 people ... employ(ed) on a seasonal basis." 30

If we conservatively assume that the full-time per year equivalent of the 2,000 is, say, 200 persons, the SRI study estimates that the \$11.8 million budget generates at least 525 direct, full-time jobs. Perhaps averaging roughly 12,000 (1976) per year.

In 1976 dollars, every \$22,465 of direct performing arts expenditure generated one direct performing-arts-associated job. If the average salary was \$12,000 , then about 53 percent of the arts budget went to salaries.

Both as comparative data to those of SRI, and as foundation for further discussion of nonprofit arts impact on San Francisco's economy, we offer the following data profiling nonprofit arts in San Francisco (see Chart 4-2).

CHART 4-2

NONPROFIT ARTS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Total number nonprofit arts organizations funded 1979-80: 73

Total annual expenditures 1979-80: \$45,203,769

- "Big five" estimated expenditures 1979-80: \$30,960,000 *
- Community arts estimated expenditures 1979-80: \$14,243,769

Annual San Francisco public expenditures:

- Total estimated public expenditures: \$8,836,264
 - 1975-76 estimated arts-related appropriations ordinance allocation: \$7,142,364 **
 - Including revenue-sharing: \$2,491,000
 - 1975-76 estimated publicity and advertising (P&A) fund allocation: \$1,693,900
 - 1979-80 estimated P&A fund allocation: \$2,629,697

Total estimated annual audience: 4,332,748 *** 1978/79

Total estimated annual direct employment in nonprofit arts: 2,075.****

* Based on P&A allocation = 5% of total combined budgets, per Chief Administrative Officer

** Most recent available figure.

- *** San Francisco's Chief Administrative Officer estimates at least half is tourist. (Roger Boas, "San Francisco's Publicity and Advertising Fund," Report, Office of Chief Administrative Officer, pp. 4 and 6.
- **** Breakdown between full- and part-time employment not known. San Francisco's Chief Administrative Officer estimates that approximately one-third employ 30 percent or more minorities.

Source: San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund Administrator

II. Input-Output Models

These models view the economy as a set of interconnected industries and final demands for goods and services. The perspective is that the output of any one industry (e.g., the arts) depends on input from each of the other industries (e.g., paint and paper). Due to the high cost and difficulty of developing and maintaining these models, it is rare for such a model to be applied to small areas such as a city, and we know of no current model for San Francisco. Typically, these are regional, state, and national-level models.

Steve Thompson and Associates, in The Economic Impact of the 1979-80 California Arts Council Budget,³¹ applied a state-level model to the projected 1979-80 budget of the state-level California Arts Council (CAC). Thompson used a relatively large-scale input-output table, including resource availability tables designed especially for California.³² This model contains 156 industries, a household sector, and a labor

availability table. It reflects transactions measured in 1976 dollars. The model was used to process the CAC budget data and survey data which Thompson obtained from a questionnaire sent to arts and cultural organizations statewide "based on a list of organizations compiled by CAC." The list consisted of 1,850 organizations, 213 of which responded with "complete information on revenues, expenditures, employment and attendance for 1978.³³ It is not clear how many questionnaires were sent out. The 213 respondents do not appear to be a sample in the very strict sense. From a statewide viewpoint, Thompson's results have considerable interest and usefulness. However, to apply these findings to a city such as San Francisco is quite another matter and Thompson makes no such attempt.³⁴

Extrapolations from state-level analysis are generally of limited value and must be used with great caution. For example, the state economy is far more inclusive and self-sufficient than is the economy of San Francisco; therefore, the multiplier values appropriate for a state would be much larger than those for a city, but we do not know to what degree. With this in mind, Thompson's state-level impact findings are that the CAC 1979-80 budget of \$9,975,532 will result in additional matching funds of \$7.5 million. The combined total arts expenditure of \$17,579,928 is estimated to result in:

- gross state income (analogous to GNP) increase of \$40.12 million
- an additional 2,235 jobs created in industries affected by arts expenditures
- an additional \$2.6 million generated in tax revenues to the state
- additional revenues generated to the federal government and local jurisdictions at two to three times the level accruing to the state. 35

If, as Thompson claims, the survey information on arts organizations "is representative of their expenditures, employment and attendance," then his findings can sharpen our view of the economic impact of the City's public arts expenditures as they combine with other revenue sources to support its non-profit arts. Chart 4-3 shows the findings for the 213 organizations that submitted complete information for 1978.

CHART 4-3

THOMPSON STATEWIDE SURVEY OF ARTS INSTITUTIONS

Statewide Survey 1978
n=213

Total expenditures	\$58.7 million
Attendance	12.6 million
Budget obtained from federal, state, local and CETA	29%
Budget from local support	14.1%
Budget from donations	23.6%
Wages and salaries as % of expenditure	52.5%
Art related expenditures (goods and services)	22%
Full-time employment	1,695
Part-time employment	5,018

Source: Steve Thompson and Associates, The Economic Impact of the 1979-80 California Arts Council Budget, 1979.

On the question of expenditures by persons attending art functions, Thompson offers rough estimates that can shed light on the process in San Francisco. After noting the difficulty in making such estimates, he offers the following points:

- ° A doubling of arts expenditures has been postulated to result in a 50 percent increase in attendance.
- ° Based on limited data, the average expenditure by a person attending an art function is \$6.00. These expenditures are distributed among retail trade (33 percent), restaurants (45 percent), lodging (5 percent) and transportation (17 percent). ³⁶

Public Revenue Yield

Thompson estimates that given the increased economic activity induced by the CAC budget, "18 cents out of every (public) dollar is returned to the state." ³⁷

III. The Central City Economy and the Arts: A Model of Change and Growth

This approach looks at the role of the arts in the economic future of a central city such as San Francisco. Its recent economic experience is explained in terms of changing technological and structural conditions that have altered the City's economic role, especially in relationship to the suburbs. The most notable work in this area has been done by Dr. Harvey Perloff, dean of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles. ³⁸

The central city's ability to successfully adjust to these

changes, to adapt to a new role as producer of services, is seen in part as a positive function of the level and quality of its art and cultural life. It is argued that the central city has steadily lost its function as a center of manufacturing to the suburbs and foreign nations (e.g., South Korea, Taiwan); has lost middle income families to the suburbs and gained minorities and poor families; and is increasingly becoming a center of service production directed to central city and suburban households, local and external business, and tourists. This is viewed as a necessary adjustment, with the future economic health of a central city dependent on how successful it is in developing a large and varied service sector -- in particular, one with a substantial export component.³⁹

Special importance is attributed to the arts in developing this service sector for two reasons:

- (1) The arts are seen as increasing the attractiveness of the central city as a place to live and/or work, particularly in the eyes of highly skilled and professional labor and corporate management. This is important because corporations especially in such specialized and export-oriented services as finance, insurance, medicine, research, and corporate headquarters, have much more latitude in making corporate location decisions than do manufacturing firms. Evidence indicates that these service export industries are

attracted to areas where its management and skilled and professional employees would like to live.⁴⁰ The attraction power of the arts is also credited with aiding in the revitalization of decaying downtown areas, particularly those with historic and/or intrinsic interest.⁴¹

(2) Arts activities are seen to have significant potential as a direct source of jobs for some "difficult to employ," especially minority youth. To these may be added, with reservations as to upward mobility, those service jobs created by business ancillary to arts activities, such as restaurants and hotels.⁴²

The importance of amenities, including arts and culture, in influencing the location decision is fairly well supported by a variety of evidence. For example:

- In an article entitled "there Are No More Sticks Anymore," author Carter Wiseman observes:

In the nation as a whole, 9.2 million people attended the opera last season as compared to 4.6 million in 1969-70. And ballet performances, which drew 5 million in 1973, last season attracted 15 million, more than ... the 14.5 million turnout for NFL football.⁴³

- A 1977 Fortune Market Research Survey found that the personal preferences of company executives and standard of living for employees are the most important corporate headquarters location factors.⁴⁴
- Based on interviews with executive recruitment consultants to major firms in the Baltimore area,

the cwi and Lyall report stated that:

... an increasing number of employees emphasize quality of life considerations (i.e., the availability of amenities and the arts) as much as salary and career advancement in deciding whether to relocate in a new position. 45

- Further supportive evidence can be found in a Rand Corporation/Kettering Foundation study.

The report makes the connection that a primary influence in economic development is residential attractiveness, especially in the areas of education and the arts. 46

It is difficult to isolate and quantify the role played by arts activities in facilitating the shift to services postulated by this model. Of particular interest are those services with a high export content and those that offer significant employment opportunities for minorities and low-income persons as well as for skilled employees. We are not aware of any thorough, systematic investigation of this question. Those who discuss it offer only bits and pieces of evidence that lend support to the positive role of the arts. Following are examples of such evidence:

- The Conference of Mayors Position Paper reported that:

Tax revenues from properties renovated in Philadelphia's Society Hill urban renewal area increased 444 percent over pre-renewal revenues.... In Georgia, Savannah's restoration of its 18th century squares ... generated a 350 percent increase in the tax assessment base in those areas. 47

- In an interview, Dr. Perloff describes the situation in Venice, California:

There, artists acted essentially as weevils, as city-builders. They infested an area, created a community and developers and higher property values followed them. All of which proves a point that people want this kind of resource and will go to these kinds of areas. 48

- ° In a report for the U. S. Department of Commerce, Louise Weiner found that:

Cleveland's experience with the Playhouse Square (a revitalization project) couple the magnetism of cultural activity with the draw of a bargain to produce the first substantial revenue of that city's 5 o'clock exodus to the suburbs. Subsidized ... quality theatre translated after dark desolation to crowds of 18,000 theatre-goers per week. Theatre patrons became restaurant patrons, generating lines at once empty cafes. 49

- ° In addition, the Greater Cleveland Growth Association found that the preservation and restoration of buildings in the Playhouse Square area resulted in capital investments at \$12.7 million, which allegedly have created 1,200 new jobs. Sales volume for the profit-making organizations in that area during the period 1974-1976 reportedly totalled \$25 million. 50

Since 1950, San Francisco's economic experience has been roughly consistent with the structural changes assumed by this model. The Monthly Summary of Business Conditions prepared by Security Pacific Bank for September, 1979 is especially germane, as it focused on a profile of San Francisco. 51

Population Trends

San Francisco's population has declined from 750,950 in 1963 to an estimated 658,000 in 1978. In recent years, these decreases have become proportionately and consistently smaller. The exodus to the suburbs has been particularly apparent in San Francisco, the development of BART being a major stimulus to this trend. The California Department of Finance has projected a mid-1985 population of approximately 645,000. (See Chart 4-4)

CHART 4-4

POPULATION TRENDS IN SAN FRANCISCO

	Year-End Population	Net Immigration
1963	750,950	- 3,709
1970	709,750	- 8,327
1972	692,500	- 8,806
1978	658,100	-1,461

Source: California Department of Finance. Year-end population figures interpolated from mid-year estimates.

Employment

Services producing industries are the largest employers of San Francisco's work force, constituting employment of 80 percent of the 520,800 wage and salary workers employed in the City. In comparison, only 9.2 percent were engaged in manufacturing.

Services-producing jobs are those such as retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate, government, and the "services" category, (e.g., hotels, business services, health services, and social services). In 1978, this latter group employed the largest number of workers (see Chart 4-5) followed in descending order by government; the finance, insurance, and real estate sector; and retail trade.

The importance of the finance, insurance and real estate sector is evidenced by the fact that six of the ten largest banks in California are headquartered in San Francisco, as is 58 percent of the total assets of banks headquartered in California.⁵² Growth in this sector, particularly among all white-collar jobs, continues to support the "high-rise office building boom that began in the early 1960's."⁵³ (See Chart 4-6)

The last two decades have seen a general decline not only in San Francisco's population, but also in the relative importance of its manufacturing sector. Factories have relocated down the peninsula and across the Bay.

CHART 4-5

WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS: SAN FRANCISCO

	1977 (thousands)	1978 (thousands)	% of 1978 Total
Total All Industries	493.6	520.8	
Construction	18.1	19.7	3.7%
Manufacturing	46.9	47.9	9.2%
Transportation and public utilities	47.8	49.0	9.4%
Wholesale trade	37.8	38.7	7.4%
Retail trade	59.5	63.9	12.2%
Finance, insurance and real estate	72.9	77.9	15.0%
Services	122.3	132.5	25.4%
Government	87.2	89.9	17.3%

Source: California Employment Development Department

Tourism

As a service provided to consumers from outside the local market, tourism is a basic industry and, as such, constitutes San Francisco's leading source of income, providing over sixty thousand jobs and generating over \$40 million in local taxes. The San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau has estimated that in 1978, visitors to San Francisco spent \$829 million, an 8.5 percent increase over the previous year; a figure of over \$1 billion is roughly estimated for 1979. The total number

of people staying in San Francisco hotels and motels in 1978 was approximately 3.2 million, a 5 percent increase over 1977. In 1979, 781 conventions were held in San Francisco with a total attendance of 764,483.

CHART 4-6

STATISTICAL PROFILE OF SAN FRANCISCO CITY AND COUNTY

	1972 (\$ millions)	1978 (\$ millions)	% Change 1972-78
Personal income	4,562.9	n.a.	n.a.
Taxable sales	1,528.3	2,500.7	63.6
Assessed valuations	2,434.3	4,025.2	65.4

Source: SPNB California Databank

A very recent indicator of the maximum potential of art museums in terms of arts impact is the "Treasurers of Tutankhamum" exhibit held at the M. H. DeYoung Museum in 1979. Visitors to this exhibition spent approximately \$108 million in San Francisco, with lodging constituting the greatest expenditure (\$38.7 million) followed by dining (more than \$33 million), shopping (\$16.3 million), entertainment (\$12.4 million), and transportation (\$5.6 million). ⁵⁴ These figures are based on a survey of 1,677 visitors to the exhibit. This survey also found that 82.6 percent of the visitors surveyed came to San Francisco primarily to see the King

Tut exhibition; of these, 62 percent came from the greater Bay Area and northern California, and 27 percent came from outside the region.

Summary and Conclusion

At present, San Francisco has no rigorous, comprehensive, empirical analysis of the nonprofit arts impact on its economy. Therefore, we hope that this survey of published research and available data has helped the reader gain:

- A clearer view of the process by which a city's arts expenditure impacts its economy;
- a sense of the range, and, within wide margins, the dimensions of that impact; and
- the kind of information and analysis that would be necessary to provide the City of San Francisco with a satisfactory explanatory and predictive analysis.

Strictly speaking, the material we have surveyed does not add up to a set of conclusions (assuming its accuracy) beyond the specific findings noted. However, to aid in the conceptual integration of this material, we have constructed a simple "Frankenstein model" of economic impact of the nonprofit arts on San Francisco. This is, we have taken bits and pieces of the material presented thus far and have built an illustrative empirical account of the process by which local funds, in a given year, affect the levels of total expenditure, employment, and city revenues.

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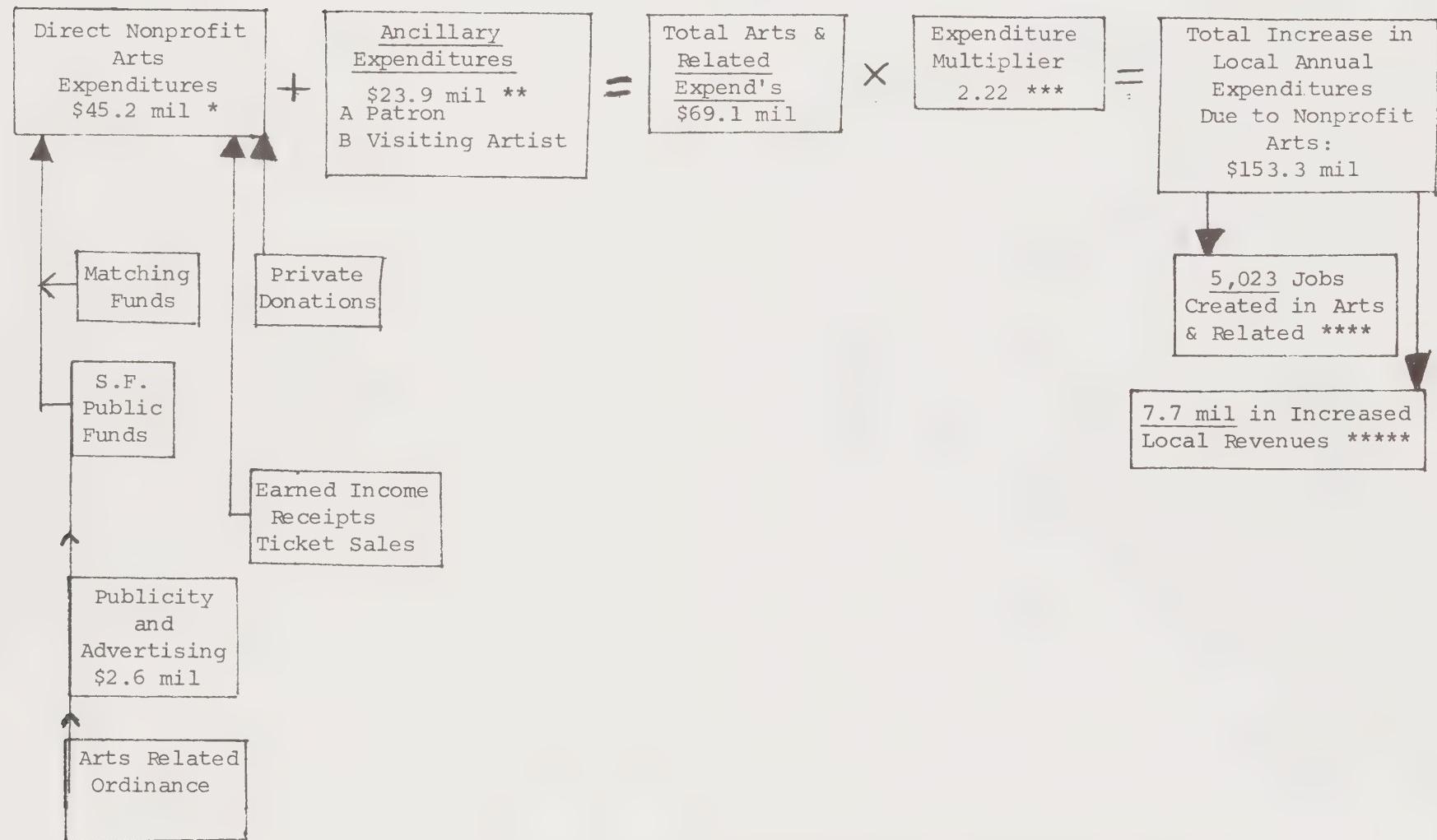
The reader is strongly advised that this model is only meant to suggest the relative relationships between San Francisco's public arts expenditure, total nonprofit arts expenditure, and the economic results. We have not verified the analyses from which these data are drawn, nor are the concepts fully consistent among the three models we have drawn from. Some of the data used to suggest relative relationships did not originate from the San Francisco economy. Thus, the model should not be used to make concrete predictions. With words of warning, we offer our illustrative "Frankenstein model" of the impact of the nonprofit arts on the San Francisco economy. The model is framed as much as possible in terms of the 1979-80 budget.

"Frankenstein Model"

Annual Impact of Nonprofit Arts Expenditure on the San Francisco Economy

FY 1979/80

Nonprofit Organizations = 73 Funded by Publicity and Advertising Fund



Notes on "Frankenstein Model"

- * Total direct expenditures for 1979-80; Source: S. F. Hotel Tax Fund Administrator. Assumes that Publicity and Advertising recipients cover all nonprofit arts expenditure in San Francisco.
- ** Patron spending: Based on 1979-80 attendance estimate of 4,322,748 (Source: S. F. Hotel Tax Fund Administrator) and a conservative per patron spending estimate of \$5.00 based on Thompson's statewide survey which averaged \$6.00 per patron.
- Visiting artist spending: Assumed to be 5 percent of total arts budget. This lowers the 15 percent extrapolated from SRI Performing Arts Study on the assumption that a broad range of arts does not use visiting artists. It is higher than the 1 percent found in the Cwi and Lyall Baltimore study on the assumption that San Francisco is more self-contained than Baltimore.
- *** SRI estimate used.
- **** Thompson's statewide estimate used a coefficient of \$6,423. We used a coefficient of \$9,000 because of the lower inclusiveness of the City's economy.
- ***** Assumed to be 5 percent of total local expenditures. SRI estimated 18 percent with respect to the Performing Arts Center in 1976; while Baltimore figures were 2 percent. However, Cwi and Lyall did not include revenues such as parking tax and property tax resulting from arts induced increased assessed valuations. All things considered, 5 percent seems reasonable.

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NOTES

1. For a rough and limited attempt to apply this approach to the City and County of San Francisco, see Ceci Brunazzi, San Francisco Civic Funding for the Arts: Who Pays? Who Benefits? (San Francisco: Intersection, Center for Religion and the Arts), 1976.
2. Richard Mickley, Preliminary Feasibility Study of a Proposed San Francisco Performing Arts Center. (Menlo Park, California: Stanford Research Institute), 1976.
3. Harvey S. Perloff, The Arts in the Economic Life of the City. (New York: American Council for the Arts), 1980. p. 145.
4. T. Scitovsky, "What's Wrong With the Arts Is What's Wrong With Society," in The Economics of the Arts, Mark Blaug ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press), 1976, p. 58.
5. W. J. Baumol and W. G. Bowen, "Arguments for Public Support of the Performing Arts," in The Economics of the Arts, Mark Blaug ed. (Boulder Colorado: Westview Press), 1976, p. 44-45.
6. The U. S. Conference of Mayors. The Taxpayer's Revolt and the Arts. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Conference of Mayors), September, 1978, p. 2.
7. Ibid., p. 2.
8. Ibid., p. 3.
9. Ibid., p. 3.
10. David Cwi and Katherine Lyall, Economic Impact of the Arts and Cultural Institutions: A Model for Assessment and a Case Study in Baltimore. Research Report Division report #6 (Washington, D. C.: National Endowment for the Arts), November 1977, p. 12.
11. Ibid., p. 25-26.
12. U. S. Conference of Mayors, p. 3.
13. The Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance. An Introduction to the Economics of Philadelphia's Cultural Organizations. (Philadelphia: The Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance), February 1975, p. 3-4.
14. Mickley, p. 1.
15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 3.
17. Ibid., p. 3.
18. Ibid., p. 4.
19. Ibid., p. 4.
20. The methodology used to estimate the multiplier of 2.22 is presented on p. 32 of the SRI (Mickley) study.
21. Mickley, p. 28.
22. Ibid., p. 27.
23. Ibid., p. 26.
24. Ibid., p. 23.
25. Ibid., p. 22.
26. Ibid., p. 6.
27. Ibid., p. 22.
28. Ibid., p. 24
29. Ibid., p. 3
30. Ibid., p. 5.
31. Steven Thompson, The Economic Impact of the 1979-80 California Arts Council Budget. (Sacramento, California: The California Arts Council), 1979.
32. Werner Schink, Techniques for Statewide Regional Resource-Contained Industrial Outlook, draft technical report. (Sacramento: California Department of Water Resources), 1978.
33. Thompson, p. 4.
34. A breakdown of the survey information dealing with San Francisco arts activities might allow for useful analysis. We lacked the time and funds to pursue this possibility.
35. Thompson, p. i-ii.
36. Ibid., p. 21-22.
37. Ibid., p. 26.

38. Harvey S. Perloff, The Role of the Arts in Economic Development. Paper presented to the Arts Task Force of the National Conference of State Legislatures. November 16, 1978.
- The Arts in the Economic Life of the City, op. cit.
39. Perloff, Arts in the Economic Life of the City, p. 7
40. Perloff, The Role of the Arts in Economic Development, p. 5.
41. Perloff, The Arts in the Economic Life of the City, p. 107.
42. Ibid., p. 7.
43. Carter Wiseman, "There are no more sticks anymore", Horizon, July 1978.
44. U. S. Conference of Mayors, p. 1.
45. Cwi and Lyall, p. 6.
46. Mark Kasoff, "The Urban Impact of Federal Policies." Nation's Cities, Vol. 15, Number 11, November 1977, p. 6.
47. U. S. Conference of Mayors, p. 4.
48. Leon S. Waskin, The Economic Impact of the Arts in California: A Policy Perspective, February 1980.
49. Louise Weiner, Perspective on the Economic Development Potential of Cultural Resources. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Commerce), January 1978.
50. Greater Cleveland Growth Association. Playhouse Square Development Impact: 1974-1976 (Cleveland: The Greater Cleveland Growth Association), March 1977.
51. Monthly Summary of Business Conditions. Security Pacific Bank, Vol. 11, no. 9. September 30, 1979.
52. A Special Report on the Economy of the San Francisco Bay Area. Security Pacific Bank, September 1975, Table 13.
53. Summary, September 1979.
54. News Release. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, October 1979.

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SAN FRANCISCO ARTS POLICY:

INTERESTS AND CONCERNS

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the range of interests and concerns of San Franciscans in respect to city arts policy. What do concerned San Franciscans think city arts policies should be? What changes would they like to see? What current practices would they like to see maintained? To answer these and related questions, personal interviews were conducted and relevant letters and documents were consulted.¹ To the extent possible, individuals strongly interested but not personally active in the arts were consulted. However, the emphasis was placed on identifying the range of attitudes within the art community itself toward current city policy. Personal interviews were conducted with representatives of the Neighborhood Cultural Centers, the smaller performing groups, and the major performing groups, as well as with representatives of business corporations, the media, and private foundations interested in the arts.

As the research for this chapter proceeded, certain topics of primary concern emerged with opinions varying widely from subject to subject. What follows is an attempt to present by topic that range of opinion. These topics can be broadly categorized into five areas: Policy-Making Structures, Patterns of Allocation, Public vs. Private Funding, The Role of the Neighborhood Arts Program, and Other Suggestions for

Improving City Arts Policy. Each area, however, is comprised of a number of important topics, as will be apparent as we proceed.

I. Policy-Making Structures

Opinions regarding the powers and composition of San Francisco's arts policy-making structures touched on several important matters: First, should there be a single structure for establishing city-wide policy in the arts? Second, what should be the role and status of the Art Commission? Third, what criteria should be used in determining appointments to any arts commission, board or office -- and by whom should such appointments be made? These matters are, of course, strongly related and were not always treated separately by interviewees.

A. Should there be a single structure for establishing city policy in the arts?

According to John Kreidler, Program Executive of the San Francisco Foundation, a key problem in the city's policy toward the arts is the absence of a single structure.¹ Kreidler would like to see a single Department of Cultural Affairs which would have final responsibility for all art-related matters currently handled by the Chief Administrative Officer, the Art Commission, the War Memorial Board and the Fine Arts Museums Board. Some agree with Kreidler: Vern Henderson of the Western Addition would like to see a department closer

to the Mayor's office, if only to "make things happen faster." Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circus) thinks a coordinating agency would be a desirable improvement, especially if it could be created in a sensitive fashion, so that the autonomy of other groups is not threatened.

Others would be satisfied simply to see better relationships established among policy-making agencies. Don Jones (Chevron) would place final responsibility in the Mayor's office, but maintain the Art Commission as an advisory agency for the disbursement of funds. Stewart Bloom (Citizens Committee) thinks a member of the Arts Commission should serve on the War Memorial Board, while Eric Hayashi (The Asian American Theater) would like to see a community board established to help with the selection and implementation of city policy, especially with regard to disbursing the Hotel Tax Fund. A similar suggestion is made by Michael Raddie (Chamber Music Society) who urges that there be an official in the Mayor's office to serve as liaison between the Mayor's office and the Arts Commission which should in turn serve as an advisory body to the Mayor's office. However, "Bureaucratic unification just places power in fewer hands, making its exercise less democratic and less available to leverage by the arts community," says David Glotzer (Arts Advocates) arguing against a single agency. He thinks the result would be to place control of the arts in the hands of "mediocre talents" with an emphasis on "political payoffs." Another organization critical of such changes is

the Board of Trustees for the Fine Arts Museum. Alexander Calhoun, Chair of the Asian Art Commission, would urge even greater independence for the Asian Art Museum. War Memorial Board President Frederic Campagnoli says that from his point of view, city arts policy is well managed as is, but acknowledges, "I'm not saying that if I were somebody else in some other place I would be as happy with things as they are. If I were a young black man living out in some neighborhood, I could very well say the status quo is crazy and we've got to start all over again."

B. What should be the role of the Art Commission?

This second question is closely related to the first. Joan Ellison, Acting Director of the Art Commission, believes the Art Commission should be elevated to the level of a Department of Cultural Affairs, serving as the City's single representative in the arts. Others suggest different ways of accommodating and/or improving the role of the Art Commission. Cecile McCann, Editor and Publisher of ARTWEEK, would give the Commission 100 percent control over city arts policy but also a new membership. "As it is, there are some good, well-intentioned people, unstinting in their work, but they are not always well advised and far too often they are asked to make decisions for which they do not have the necessary expertise."

Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circus) thinks the Art Commission should play a much larger role in determining city art policy. It should help coordinate the sharing of resources, e.g., technical support services, publicity and promotion, visiting artists, etc. According to Nolan, much more would be possible with real leadership on the Art Commission, which is now "absolutely missing and has been for years." He thinks the Art Commission is isolated, but hopes the new leadership may do better. Certainly the Art Commission should have a better budget and more staff. Nolan thinks Chief Administrative Officer Roger Boas has been fairer in the distribution of city funds than his predecessor, and is not certain such distribution should be turned over to the Art Commission.

For John Kreidler (S. F. Foundation), the Art Commission is too much in the public eye to be assigned all responsibility for distributing city funds to the arts. He recommends that if the Commission be given such responsibility, it should be modelled upon the California Arts Council whereby private peer review panels follow criteria set by the Council to make recommendations which the Council in turn normally respects. Kreidler stressed the need to change the current "archaic" criteria for appointment to the Art Commission (see below) before giving the Commission this level of responsibility.

Vern Henderson (Western Addition Cultural Center) considers the Art Commission too bureaucratic and not suffi-

ciently committed to the neighborhood programs: "They treat us sort of like a third class citizen, a step child . . . we are the least likely to get anything. They are not going to fight for us; they would do more for the Pops Symphony, for the Performing Arts Center, than for us." But Henderson agrees with others that individual commissioners are "decent people, nice enough people."

Alfonso Maciel (the Mission Cultural Center) is better satisfied with the work of the Art Commission vis-a-vis the Neighborhood Arts Program. He sees a significant improvement in allowing for the autonomy and growth of the center and in providing a generally more supportive attitude. He praises the individual members of the Commission as sensitive and helpful, and would like to see the Art Commission given more control over arts policy in the City.

But another critic of the community involvement of the Art Commission is Eric Hayashi (Asian American Theater) who finds the Commission "totally unresponsive and inaccessible to community art organizations," and responding disproportionately to the major arts organizations. He thinks that before the Commission assumes a larger role in city arts policy, it must be "radically changed."

However, representatives of the major arts organizations were not found to be more enthusiastic about a larger role for the Art Commission. Lenore Naxon (the Opera) believes current members are not widely esteemed in the art community and are on the Commission just to represent certain ethnic

groups or for political reasons. She would not wish to see the Commission more powerful unless there were more arts professionals appointed and the Commission were in general more responsible to the arts. Michael McCone (Museum of Modern Art) thinks the Commission should rely more on the professional judgment of the men and women in the art business, but does believe it provides important community level outlets for young people. He does not believe the Commission should have more influence in the distribution of the P & A fund.

Thomas Seligman (Fine Arts Museum) would not increase the powers of the Art Commission: "I do not believe in an arts politburo," he says, citing France and the U.S.S.R. as negative examples. He thinks the Commission's role in supporting community arts should be extended "on a low cost basis."

Until the Arts Commission is entirely reconstituted, it will never be an effective body, says Richard Le-Blond (the San Francisco Ballet) who thinks the Pops Symphony could run as well without the Commission, the Art Festival is "a laughing stock," and neighborhood arts are sadly declining. "No doubt they are very good people," he says, but it is hard to see what they are set up to do under current structures. David Glotzer (Opera, Arts Advocates) faults the Commission for not working more with the "working arts community" and thinks it should be doing more to provide information services, technical assistance and advocacy with government agencies at all levels and be much less involved in the running of arts programs itself.

Nor are the smaller independent arts organizations certain the Art Commission should be raised in status. Although a strong city agency acting as an advocate for the arts would be advantageous, Ernest Baker (Music by the Bay) doubts whether that agency should be the Art Commission, which he considers neither strong nor powerful. Michael Raddie (Chamber Music) suggests that the Art Commission has lost visibility in the past three or four years and does not seem to be "in the mainstream" anymore.

Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective) would like to see the Art Commission have a larger budget, become more visible, and take more interest in smaller arts organizations like her own. She suggests the Commission could help such groups develop funds for a medium-sized theater, or secure them better access to existing facilities.

The Commission is severely castigated by former member Richard Reineccius (Julian Theater) for its "terrible negligence in defending its own interests." It is, he says, "absolutely failing the arts community by taking a benign attitude toward budget cuts" and he sometimes thinks, "The Commission enjoys seeing people fail."

Art Commissioner Roselyne Swig believes that the fiscal priorities of the city government constrain arts policy more than the institutions or the attitudes of Commissioners. She thinks the Commission's apparatus is workable, if only the City were to provide the necessary resources. Art Commission President Ray Taliaferro agrees. He thinks the Com-

mission should be given the resources to meet its responsibilities under the Charter, but thinks it is important that other arts boards continue to exist. It is very important, he says, to have other organizations working to raise the funds necessary to support the arts in San Francisco: "seventeen people on one board could never generate enough support for the City's entire arts activity," says Taliaferro.

C. What criteria should be used in determining appointments to any commission, board or office dealing with arts policy?

Few matters concerning city arts policy evoke greater controversy than the question of how appointments to arts boards should be made. Major areas of disagreement include whether or not special consideration should be given to large donors, to representatives of ethnic communities, to representatives of the City's geographic districts, to working artists, to art administrators, and/or to private individuals with strong interest and understanding in the arts.

We must remember that boards are the prerogative of the Mayor, says Frederic Campagnoli (War Memorial Board), and she should have the right to appoint those who have displayed an interest in the function the Board is performing. Appointment should not be a matter of where one lives or one's ethnicity, but simply of the quality of the person and the extent of interest demonstrated.

Don Jones (Chevron) thinks at least fifty percent of the membership should be art professionals, with others

drawn from those who develop funds (corporations, foundations) and those who have a "Chamber of Commerce viewpoint" regarding art's role in stimulating tourism.

Lenore Naxon (San Francisco Opera) thinks "good people" must be given seats regardless of ethnicity or district: "I don't care how people's eyes slant so long as they're competent." She thinks the Mayor should make appointments, in close cooperation with the arts community, choosing individuals widely recognized for their broad knowledge, expertise, and interest in the arts. Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet) agrees, and stresses an understanding of quality as a criterion; he does not want members willing to "make the War Memorial an extension of North Beach." District representation is "utterly irrelevant" and "counting faces with a particular slant of eye or pigment in the skin does not interest me."

Michael McCone (Museum of Modern Art) believes board members must be those with a background in the arts, and above all, those with a broad interest in the arts; he thinks district representation is to be avoided as is any criterion which fosters a narrow view of the matters with which the board is concerned. Similarly, for John Gidwitz (San Francisco Symphony), "the only criterion appropriate for selection to such boards is a long demonstrated knowledge, support and involvement of, for and in the arts."

Joan Ellison (Art Commission) is satisfied with the current system of appointment of board members. She

thinks it is important that different disciplines be represented on the Commission and believes ethnic representation is required only when such representation has a relationship to specific art disciplines. Former Commission member Richard Reineccius thinks that body's members must be chosen among those who are professionals in the field, with payment for attending meetings. At present, he believes the Commission is too controlled by monied interests.

Thomas Seligman (Fine Arts Museum) believes such boards must be composed of influential and wealthy people in good part, because they solicit and provide generous endorsements. It is also important, says Seligman, to have distinguished arts professionals and significant leaders from community groups. Seligman prefers self-perpetuation of board membership to political appointment because such appointments produce a board "lacking in allegiance to the museum." Edwin Schwartz (the Performing Arts Center) is opposed to district representation and ethnic representation: "Running an arts organization is not a democratic process . . . I have no objection if the 49-ers are all black, and none to the San Francisco Symphony being composed of the best musicians."

Working artists, art administrators, educators, and important donors all have a place on such boards, according to Cecile McCann (editor and publisher, ARTWEEK), but district and ethnic representation are less important: "if it happens, it's great, but it is much less important."

Others would let ethnic considerations play a larger role. John Kreidler (San Francisco Foundation) believes board members should be appointed by the Mayor, with staggered terms ensuring constant turnover of membership, and should include artists, minority representatives, large donors, and those with "major credentials" in the field of management. Making such appointments is itself, says Kreidler, "a matter of artistry."

Board appointments should be made to those actively interested in the arts, not to social dilettantes, says Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circul). Those who contribute large sums to the arts will naturally be considered, but this should not be made an explicit criterion. Equally, racial, sexual and geographical representation should simply be "something for the Mayor to think about" in making appointments. An elite, self-perpetuating board is "just unthinkable."

All the different art forms (including dance) should be represented, says Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective), and there should always be several wealthy patron members who will help educate the public to support the arts. Ethnic representation should be related to the ethnic arts (e.g.,

ethnic dance). Someone interested in avant-garde art should be included: otherwise it will be difficult for new talent to find an outlet and "in five years, we'll feel the cost." Rossi Snipper (the Magic Theater) hopes the opera house will one day be made more accessible to touring groups

than at present, and thinks War Memorial Board members who are arts professionals would be better able to make the necessary decisions regarding which groups to bring in. He favors neither district representation ("art does not have geographic boundaries") nor the representation of important patrons ("such a person already shapes the direction an organization is going in more than is desirable"), but does favor ethnic representation.

Stewart Bloom (Citizens' Committee for Reform of the War Memorial Board of Trustees) would like to see the City adopt the guidelines used by the National Council for the Arts, ensuring that board members are representative of the community at large, are recognized for their interest and commitment to the arts, and are possessed of wide knowledge and expertise in the arts. He argues that those presently on the Board have no theatrical management skills ("do not know the textbook basics") and represent a very narrow scope of interests: "Hunters Point is not coming to the Opera House; art programming is not being done in the interest of all San Franciscans."

Ernest Baker (Music by the Bay) recommends political control of appointments ("Politicians are at least more responsive than appointed officials") and thinks each board should include artists, art administrators, and community group representatives (e.g., senior citizens, minorities, etc.). Alfonso Maciel (Mission Cultural Center) thinks appointees should have a high degree of commitment to the arts

in general and to community arts in particular. He thinks district representation is "a very appealing idea" and believes ethnic representation would be a desirable by-product. Neither Maciel nor Baker objects to large corporate donors on arts boards, but Maciel says that at present such donors tend to give almost total support to traditional European art forms.

Board appointments should go to professional artists and community representatives, says Vern Henderson (the Western Addition Cultural Center). The latter should include those who are well known in the community as well as artists and care must be taken to ensure full ethnic representation. Alison Wilbur (Mexican Museum) thinks board members should have a history of involvement with the arts, does not object to one or two major donors being included, would prefer not to see district representation ("too many factions"), but does think ethnic representation is important. The Mayor should make such appointments, but if the board is open to nominations from its membership, self-perpetuating boards are also acceptable. Jim Larkin (United Project) thinks members should be drawn from the constituency they expect to serve, as well as from the more monied community. District representation would help to make board decisions more relevant, as would ethnic representation. But ethnic representation is useless if it is merely token representation: "you sit on the board: one black, one asian, one hispanic and nine others and they vote you down,

won't respond, just outvote you all the time."

II. Patterns of Allocation

The allocation of city funds to the arts is a matter of prime importance to members of San Francisco's art community. Several questions are of concern: First, is city support of the arts in general adequate? Second, is city support fair, i.e., is the allocation of existent funds equitably distributed among the applicants for support? Third, is city support efficient, in the sense that city monies do in fact go to groups which make good use of the funds received?

A. Is existent city support adequate?

Edwin Schwartz (the Performing Arts Center) thinks the City has been "tremendously supportive" of the arts and hopes that current budgetary restrictions will inspire the City to take a new interest in the arts and find new ways to ensure funding.

City support for the arts is not adequate, says Rossi Snipper (Magic Theater). His own organization relies on the federal government for 16 percent of its budget and on the City for only 5 percent. Snipper thinks the City should be providing at least as much as the federal government.

Eric Hayashi (Asian American Theater) thinks a much larger portion of the Hotel Tax Fund ("20 percent or more") should be legally assigned to the arts, while Don Jones

(Chevron) is concerned that no monies from the Hotel Tax Fund revert to the General Fund until the arts have received their full and complete appropriation.

Not surprisingly, many of those consulted believed the City support their own groups better. Lenore Naxon (the Opera) said that city and state support combined accounted for only 4 to 5 percent of their budget, despite the fact that "the only positive national publicity the city has attracted in the past year to counteract the impact of Jones-town and the assassinations in City Hall was the televising of [the Opera's production of] La Gioconda."

Thomas Seligman (the Fine Arts Museums) considers city support for the arts very poor. Shortness of funds always means a cut in the amount going to the arts. Furthermore, the City "milks" the museums, seeing them as a resource to be exploited. He cites as an example the fact that even though half the price of museum admissions goes into the General Fund, museums themselves had to pay for police protection of the Dresden and Tut exhibits (in contrast to a smaller city like Seattle, which provided such protection at city expense). He also points out the inadequacies of City maintenance of the museums (e.g., the City expects a private group to mend a leaking roof in a public building).

Michael McCone (the Museum of Modern Art) recommends that 20 percent of the Hotel Tax Fund be allocated to the Publicity & Advertising Fund, of which 60 percent should then be

allocated to cultural organizations. McCone says, "we earn that money and don't consider it a handout . . . we are part of the reason people come to San Francisco and stay in the hotels." Specifically, McCone deplores the cutback in supplies and janitorial services his organization has suffered since Proposition 13, and suggests that the City should maintain its own property better (e.g., the War Memorial). He also recommends more purchase of sculpture by the City for public buildings and areas.

The Art Commission badly needs more than one salaried person on its staff, suggests Acting Director Joan Ellision, who adds that she finds it next to impossible to have to rely on the CETA program for additional staff, given the high rates of turnover: "A difficult and improper way to operate." The Commission also needs better facilities, or at least better maintenance of existing facilities, as well as the services of a publicist: "Most people do not even know this agency exists."

B. Is the allocation of existent funds fair?

According to several of those interviewed, what monies are made available to the arts by the City are distributed fairly. The use of the Hotel Tax Fund is, says Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet) "the most intelligent municipal funding of the arts in the United States." The monies thus allocated play a key part in permitting the ballet to perform outreach and community services. LeBlond thinks it is crucial

that a provision be written into the charter guaranteeing that 20 percent of the P & A fund go to the Arts. He says the beauty of the hotel tax is that it is paid by those who come to San Francisco, in large measure for the arts: "It's so logical that it's too much to expect the politicians to leave it alone." Therefore, he thinks it should be protected by the Charter.

David Glotzer (Arts Advocates and S. F. Opera) thinks allocations are generally made equitably, but thinks the criteria used in the Chief Administrative Officer's determinations could emphasize artistic and aesthetic elements more: the City must recognize that culture is a civic responsibility, regardless of whether or not it attracts tourists. "We are lucky," he says, "that tourism is so important, but we would like to see the City move past that perspective some day."

Thomas Seligman (Fine Arts Museums) says some groups will always receive larger funds because they have better leadership and more popular and attractive programs. However, he adds, "The names at the top are always changing." Administrative Director Rossi Snipper says that the Magic Theater is satisfied that the Hotel Tax Fund is fairly allocated, but wishes the City's CETA program focused more on the needs of the professional art organizations for staff support.

However, a far larger number of those interviewed did not think current allocations were entirely fair. Much more should go to the independent community arts groups which are usually working with deficit budgets, says Eric Hayashi

(Asian American Theater). Cutbacks in government funding would not make such a difference to the "majors" who always have more resources to fall back on.

Some city support seems "questionable" to Frederic Campagnoli (the War Memorial Board) who cites parades as one example. Campagnoli thinks some of the money spent on neighborhood arts programs could be better spent: "As important as neighborhood involvement is, the basic foundation stone of artistic life of the city are the permanent organizations." The opera, the symphony, the ballet, and A.C.T. deserve support because they are established, because they serve the greatest number of people, and because they contribute to the City's importance, says Campagnoli. A contrary view is taken by Stewart Bloom (Citizens' Committee) who says that the Neighborhood Arts Program should receive more and the Opera less, because the Opera serves too small a share of the San Francisco community (inasmuch as so many who attend do not live in the City): "Let's support activities which directly benefit San Francisco citizens." He thinks the City should do more to bring the performing arts into the communities, where many people cannot afford the price of tickets.

For John Kreidler (San Francisco Foundation) current allocation of funds is "absolutely not" equitable, in large part because of the fragmentation of policy-making structures in the City. Kreidler thinks more support should be given the Neighborhood Arts Program, and calls attention as well to the disproportionate difficulty and expense 'outside' groups incur

in renting War Memorial facilities. In this latter regard, he asks if it is right that those with budget surpluses pay less for the use of such facilities than those operating at a loss.

The major institutions have too much access to private wealth for current allocations to be equitable, according to Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circus). Such art groups do not need as much subsidizing by the Hotel Tax Fund. Their presence in the City is critical, for economic viability, and as a model, but they have other resources that struggling arts groups do not. Nolan adds that the City has been good to the Pickle Family Circus ("and we've returned the favor").

For Ernest Baker (Music by the Bay) the allocation of existent funds is far from fair. He sees the City as controlled by a "Chamber of Commerce idea of what art is," unable to do more than apologize for existent inequities. Baker thinks the tendency to give only a certain percentage of the previous year's budget is especially hard on new organizations trying to develop, and he urges that in-kind donations be counted when a group's ability to raise funds elsewhere is being assessed.

Alison Wilbur (Mexican Museum) doubts the current allocation of funds is entirely fair and thinks a disproportionate amount is given to the opera. She believes each group should be awarded the same proportion of its total budget. The distribution of funds is equitable, says Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective), but she adds that the City must be

careful not to assess applicant groups in terms of the number of people in their audiences and to keep as much focus as possible on the question of quality.

A problem for Vern Henderson (Western Addition Cultural Center) is the ruling that funds raised must go to the City for redistribution. He would like the neighborhood cultural centers to be able to raise money to subsidize their own activities. He also objects to the long delays caused by present bureaucratic procedures before the smallest purchases can be made, as well as to the fact that his organization cannot project a season because even approved budgets do not always hold up. Alfonso Maciel (Mission Cultural Center) also argues that a larger share should go to community arts and says that on a dollar for dollar basis, the communities' art programs serve a far greater public. Too much money is going into the major art establishments, says Jim Larkin (United Project), forcing the people of San Francisco to support art forms they don't attend themselves. More City money should be spent on the popular, community arts. But to funnel all money to the communities via the Neighborhood Arts Program is a mistake: "they miss the boat" and should be offering more support to private grass roots organizations. Cecile McCann (Editor and Publisher, ARTWEEK) believes the City must emphasize quality more in the selection of artists to whom support is given: "While I recognize the needs of the struggling artists, I do not think all deserve equal support." She par-

ticularly worries that "some of the greatest exploratory work of greatest promise is overlooked simply because it is so unfamiliar."

C. Are City funds used efficiently?

Are city funds used wisely by those who receive them? Most of those consulted believe that they are. "There is no waste," says Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective): "they are all good, hard-working groups." John Kreidler (San Francisco Foundation) concurs, as does Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet): "We live such marginal lives in the arts that survival requires the most skillful management possible."

Stewart Bloom (Citizens Committee) agrees that there is probably little direct waste of the money distributed to the arts, but finds an important form of indirect waste in the low rental rates offered the San Francisco Opera for use of the War Memorial Building. He further argues that the two month period provided for technical rehearsals at these low rates could be reduced to one month, freeing the facilities for use by other groups. War Memorial Board President Frederic Campagnoli defends the practice of giving reduced rates to the Opera and the Ballet on the grounds these organizations are 1) long-term residents and 2) major organizations in that form of culture.

Eric Hayashi (Asian American Theater) thinks most art organizations are too undernourished for waste to be possible. Possibly some funding is wasted through poor management,

but inadequate management is usually itself a function of inadequate funding. Talking about "waste" in funding of the arts is tricky, says Rossi Snipper (Magic Theater), given the extreme subjectivity of what constitutes "success" in the arts. Snipper does add that the Performing Arts Center seems to him "a fiasco" because it is usable only for musical events. He urges this situation be rectified by making the Opera House more available for a wider range of non-musical events. Others are readier to cite specific examples of inefficient use of city funds in the arts. Alfonso Maciel (Mission Cultural Center) thinks the Pops Concert is being kept alive artificially, thanks to Charter provisions for its continuance. Another form of waste identified by Maciel is bureaucratic red tape involved in acquiring city support: "extremely wasteful of the time of those who must fill out the forms." Thomas Seligman (Fine Arts Museums) cites the Art Festival here, calling it a "charade" and urging that the money could be better spent on grass roots programs.

There is no question in the mind of Ernest Baker (Music by the Bay) that waste exists. He thinks several established groups are being funded on the basis of standards they have not maintained for many years. Similarly, Michael Raddie (Chamber Music) suggests some groups are able to spend some of the city money received on what he would judge to be "frivolous sorts of expenditures."

Richard Reineccius argues that there has been waste in the distribution of grants by the Art Commission. He

accuses the Commission of having kept very poor records, with funds not properly accounted for. Jim Larkin of United Project agrees: "Gross misuse of funds by the Art Commission" is his example. However, Joan Ellison (Art Commission) claims that very stringent policies are followed in the allocation of city funds, ensuring that there will be the most efficient possible use of the money available.

III. Public versus Private Funding

Another matter considered was the question of the relationship between public versus private funding. What is the effect of city funding on private funding and vice versa: does the one tend to stimulate or depress the other? Secondly, what is the effect of City or private funding on the content of the arts: does he who pays the piper call the tune?

A. Do City and private funding stimulate or depress each other?

Most of those consulted believe that private and public sources of arts funding have a positive effect on each other. Private funding helps stimulate city support, by providing credibility, says Eric Hayashi (Asian American Theater), and the same effect is observed on private funding when it is learned the City is behind a project. Private donors do not like to see a group entirely dependent on their own support. The City gives more if private donors give more, agrees Rossi Snipper (Magic Theater), who goes on to urge that the City should supply the "meat and potatoes," letting private donors

cover the more "glamorous" aspects of an art operation. Michael Raddie (Chamber Music) is certain city funding stimulates private funding, and "They stimulate each other," says Alison Wilbur (Mexican Museum). Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective) agrees: the more private support, the more city support: "everyone wants to be part of a group."

In the case of the Performing Arts Center, Edwin Schwartz asserts that the support provided by Mayor George Moscone was absolutely essential. Private donors, especially those giving larger contributions, want to know a project is attracting all kinds of support: "no one wants to be alone."

City money follows private money, concurs Stewart Bloom of the Citizens Committee, but Bloom objects that instead the City should be supporting those forms of art which do not attract sufficient private support: "City money should go where it can have the most effect." Corporations look to see where their name will appear most prestigiously, but the City does not need to have such a concern. There should be an inverse relationship between private and public funding in the arts.

There were, however, those who argued that private funding has a negative impact on city support. Vern Henderson (Western Addition) thinks private funding does cause the City to back away. Since Proposition 13, the City has tended to ask more of private donors, thinks Frederic Campagnoli (the War Memorial Board) and Lenore Naxon (San Francisco Opera) thinks there is some tendency for the City to use its knowledge of private support as an excuse not to provide more

public support.

For Don Jones (Chevron) the important issue is to maintain a balance among the different sources of funding (e.g., one-third public, one-third audience revenue, and one-third private sources) so that the collapse of any single source is not an unmitigated disaster for the arts. Richard LeBlond agrees: Public funding must serve as a catalyst and never be the single source of support.

Finally, Joan Ellison (the Art Commission) thinks the two forms of funding are related and that in the present context this means as public funds decline, so do private contributions: "Where this will lead, I do not know."

B. Does City or private funding influence the content of the arts?

Lenore Naxon (San Francisco Opera) says "absolutely not," although she adds that there is some private funding available only for specific projects such as a special educational program or capital expenses which lead to "names on buildings." Frederic Campagnoli (War Memorial Board) is sure no donor has dictated performance content. Michael McCone (Museum of Modern Art) thinks no special access goes with funding the arts and experiences "no undue influence." Eric Hayashi (the Asian American Theater) agrees that there is little overt effort by funding agencies to control content, but does point out how little avant-garde work is performed, especially in the major art organizations. Rossi Snipper

(the Magic Theater) thinks private donors "have a good track record in funding experimental work briefly," but usually "want to get out after a year or two." No attempt to influence content of programming is noted by Michael Raddie (Chamber Music Society) in the case of either public or private funding.

Finally, John Kreidler says he has "seen very little of that" - in fact, he says, the San Francisco Foundation has great difficulty in determining the quality of arts projects submitted to it: "the judgment of art is always subjective and should be."

Others, however, are less certain that there is so little connection between funding and content. Those who give the most support do tend to get appointed to boards, and do tend to influence content, says Edwin Schwartz (the Performing Arts Center), who adds "That's not bad; that's just the way it is. If I give a million dollars, they see this man is interested and they want to know my opinions." There is some indirect control over content, acknowledges Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet): "If you take a new project to a potential donor and he doesn't like it, you cannot make him fund it." But any direct attempt to exert such influence can always be silenced by raising the spectre of 'censorship,' and LeBlond does not think the problem is a serious one. As for the City, it has never tried to influence content, and deserves a great deal of credit for that.

John Gidwitz (the San Francisco Symphony) says, "It

is very important that the City not try to impose its own concerns on the arts organizations . . . the City is not qualified to judge what the Symphony should play, how it should present its concerts, etc." He says that support from private sources is usually "offered in a manner that is sensitive to the goals of the arts organizations . . . It is City support which is sometimes susceptible to biasing the activities of arts organizations by superimposing politically conceived goals over those of the arts institutions."

Ernest Baker (Music by the Bay) identifies a special aspect of the problem. He thinks that large private donors influence the City to donate its money to non-minority art forms. Baker sees the denigration of non-white art forms as an aspect of racial oppression: "The first things that were taken away from Blacks in the United States were their drums, by which they could communicate. In effect, this is still going on." Government control of content becomes a problem, says Don Jones (Chevron), when any single element is stressed excessively as a criterion for meriting support. He worries that too much emphasis may be being placed on "outreach" programs when art organizations are barely able to meet their own basic needs. He thinks private funding may also tend to influence content, but says it is simply "a fact of life which must be guarded against." But fear that public funding would entail too much loss of control, as well as the need to put "too much energy into maintaining the structure" is one

of the reasons the Center for Japanese-American Studies has never sought city support, says its Co-Director, Jim Hirabayashi. However, one should not worry that government money is "tainted," suggests David Glotzer (Arts Advocates and the San Francisco Opera), but just "take it and use it for what you want to do." He adds, "we have no choice anymore . . . if we have to live in this world, we have to make the best of it and I think that's what the arts are beginning to do."

IV. The Neighborhood Arts Programs

The place of the Neighborhood Arts Program in the City's overall policy toward the arts is a complex question which leads in many directions. First, how important is this kind of program considered to be? Second, what should be the relative degree of support given by the City to such programs, as compared to the support given private art organizations, major or minor? Third, are there other ways the City should try to encourage more minority participation in the arts at all levels, both as spectators and as performers?

A. How important is the Neighborhood Arts Program?

In general, the idea of a neighborhood arts program has strong support in the arts community. Several of those interviewed see the program as an important source for new talent. Richard LeBlond (the San Francisco Ballet) sees it as one of the best sources of such talent for the major organizations, and cites the Ballet's efforts to bring in talented

children from that setting: "It's good for them and it's good for us." Similarly for Michael McCone, the neighborhood arts programs are an important source of new art for the Museum of Modern Art. The neighborhoods are, in a sense, a proving ground, suggests Frederic Campagnoli (the Way Memorial Board) who adds that "If people are really interested, they will move into the major groups."

Strong supporters of the Neighborhood Arts Program include Stewart Bloom (Citizens Committee) who thinks the program should be expanded and praises the Art Commission's work in this regard; Alison Wilbur (the Mexican Museum) who points out that many persons attend the cultural center performances who would never think of going to the Civic Center; and Edwin Schwartz (the Performing Arts Center): "It's a great idea; art is art whether it takes place in the neighborhood or in the opera house." Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective) says: "They do a good job. We began our own work here within that program and they offered essential help until we were ready to move out." (Way cites San Francisco policy toward the arts as one of the main reasons her company moved here from Ohio. "We really chose this town for all the reasons you are making this survey.")

Having been involved in the establishment of the Neighborhood Arts Program, Richard Reineccius (Julian Theater) is a strong defender of the program and very much regrets the cuts that have been made in its support. He thinks the program could provide particularly useful services to the smaller

groups in the community if funding were sufficient. It should, he says, be a multi-million dollar program. There is a strong need to promote professional level activity within the communities to develop professional level black theater, hispanic theater, etc. Ceci Brunazzi (for Intersection) points out that the neighborhood and community programs satisfy the cultural needs of a far wider range of San Franciscans than the Opera, Symphony, Ballet and A.C.T., which she describes as "limited by their cultural one-dimensionality" and primarily reflecting and perpetuating "the artistic forms of the aristocratic European cultures from which they originated." ²

Art Commissioner Roselyn Swig describes herself as "very supportive of the Neighborhood Arts Program," which she would like to see enriched and sustained. She worries that not enough people know about the program, owing to lack of funding; for her, the mix of ethnic communities and ethnic arts in the neighborhoods is "one of the most exciting things about San Francisco."

However, not everyone praised the program in unmixed terms. Thomas Seligman (Fine Arts Museums) believes the work is vital, and well backed by the communities it serves, but tends sometimes to be too governed by political considerations. Michael Raddie (Chamber Music) thinks the opportunities provided young artists are extremely important, but is less certain how high a level of talent is found in the centers. David Glotzer (Arts Advocates) thinks more

should be done to link the program with other arts organizations. He thinks the Art Commission should be more directive, arrange for more "substantial artists" to appear in the centers, create more opportunities for cultural center audiences to broaden their horizons and show more concern for the aesthetic development of these programs.

Most critical of all was Jim Larkin (United Project) who sees the program as too bureaucratic, too controlled by politics. Larkin asserts that most of the community artists have pulled out of the centers to escape such control. He says the Art Commission considers itself capable of speaking for the Commission: "They dictate and strangle you. They suck up your ideas and get money for them and then direct that money back to the community with directions on how it is to be spent. You play the game and you stay; otherwise, you're out."

B. What should be the relative degree of support for the Neighborhood Arts Program?

Is the widespread approval for the Neighborhood Arts Program backed up by a readiness to commit a significant share of city art funding to that effort? Opinion is somewhat more divided.

The Neighborhood Arts Programs should be given more support than either the major or the minor art organizations, says Ernest Baker, a leader of one of the latter. Everyone claims, says Baker, that the cultural centers don't have high quality performances, don't have good management, and don't

attract large audiences. Well, he says, all that is true, and true because they lack the necessary resources. "If they were stronger and better supported, groups like our own would work through them, because they are connected to the community."

Lenore Naxon (San Francisco Opera) also recognizes the connection between resources and quality: "The neighborhood associations simply do not have the resources -- the time and the money -- to develop the sophistication of the majors. After all, we have forty full time administrators at the opera." Naxon did not, however, suggest more funding for the Neighborhood Art Program as compared to other art organizations.

One who would increase the support for this program is John Kreidler (San Francisco Foundation) who believes there are important cultural traditions of San Franciscans not currently being met which could be met through this program were it better supported. Furthermore, stressing quality does not mean stinting on support for the neighborhood programs, says Cecile McCann (Editor and Publisher, ARTWEEK), because "quality must begin low on the scale." Don Jones (Chevron) thinks there should be a fifty-fifty division of attention, but "not necessarily of funding" between the neighborhood arts programs and the established art organization. He says it takes more money to run the "majors," whereas community groups have more personal participation and smaller audiences. Similarly, although both neighborhood art performances and high culture arts "are

important to the health of a community," John Gidwitz (San Francisco Symphony) argues that "neighborhood arts, by their very nature, do not require the kind of extensive continuous funding that art institutions such as symphony orchestras, operas and museums must have. It is the great cultural institutions which are decisive in establishing a milieu of quality and stimulation. They are important to the intellectual, cultural and economic life of the community." In the same vein, Frederic Campagnoli (the War Memorial Board) says, "It is important that those who are not necessarily thinking of art as a career should have an arena, but we shouldn't lose sight of the fact that major support should go to the major contributors to art in the city."

Although Rossi Snipper (Magic Theater) thinks the Neighborhoods Arts Program serves a purpose in meeting the needs of arts amateurs, he thinks the City's emphasis on this program causes it to overlook the numerous independent ethnic groups at work.

C. Are there other ways city policy might encourage more minority participation in the arts?

Although this question elicited a rich range of suggestions, not everyone believes the City should attempt to do more to involve members of minority groups in the arts. "I don't see where the City should get involved," says Frederic Campagnoli (War Memorial Board). "It is unfortunate if a great talent cannot be developed, but in most cases, if there is a

great talent and interest, it will come to the fore, will develop and will find assistance." Lenore Naxon (San Francisco Opera) also does not think this is an appropriate role for the City: "If people want to get interested, they'll get interested; if it happens, it happens . . . what matters to this Company is what quality is and nothing else."

"I don't think the City can do anything except give scholarships to qualified minority students in the schools," says Edwin Schwartz (Performing Arts Center) and even there he sees a problem in having a committee decide who is qualified. Schwartz suggests that distinctions must be made between profit-making entertainments like rock concerts and nonprofit-making cultural activities like the opera and the museums, and urges that no one should be forced to go to one or the other. He thinks the City is doing a good job in ensuring that reasonably priced seats are made available to minority groups, free performances are provided, youth programs are set up: "the minority child interested in art has plenty of opportunities."

John Kreidler (San Francisco Foundation) questions the extent to which minority involvement in opera, ballet, etc. should be encouraged: "I have a difficulty in saying we ought to tell kids if you're going to be civilized, you've got to play Mozart on the violin. I don't like to see cultural traditions forced on alien traditions." It is important, he says, that young people not imagine their own cul-

tural tradition is thereby being demeaned. He does, however, believe the City should play a role in assuring lower income groups access to all the arts by supporting special performances, selling blocks of tickets at lower prices, etc.

Jim Hirabayashi (Center for Japanese-American Studies) is skeptical for different reasons. He has mixed feelings about minority involvement in major arts organizations because the costs in terms of loss of control can be high. In any case, he says, "I don't see one hell of a lot of ethnic participation in A.C.T. or in the Opera or in the Museums." Others remain persuaded the best avenue of support is through the neighborhoods. The main way to encourage minority participation, says Alfonso Maciel (the Mission Cultural Center), is to provide more money via the Art Commission for neighborhood arts programs, and he is echoed by Alison Wilbur (Mexican Museum) who thinks the City should help such organizations apply for funds by providing grant application workshops where administrators of the Hotel Tax Fund talk to staff personnel in small groups. Art Commissioner Roselyne Swig takes the same point of view: "I would rather talk about 'neighborhoods' than 'minorities'" she says. Not enough is being done to help in the neighborhoods, especially in those which are more highly motivated (she cites Bay View and the Mission). She would like to see a visiting artists program for the neighborhoods, setting up "high-level" workshops, or a city-wide award for achievement in the arts -- "whatever you can do to generate enthusiasm."

Nevertheless, many do have suggestions for other ways the City could work to improve minority participation in the arts. One way for the City to increase minority participation in the arts would be to provide more artistic instruction in the schools, says David Glotzer (Arts Advocates): The current exclusion of "culture" from education helps sustain ignorance and indifference. Glotzer also urges that more be done to help developing groups move from the Neighborhood Arts Program up into the professional arena and present their work to the larger community. Thomas Seligman (Fine Arts Museums) would like to see the City provide money for minority internships in art management, curatorial practices, etc., which is, he believes, an effective way of placing minorities in art administration. Michael McCone (Museum of Modern Art) thinks the better established organizations should involve young artists more without forcing them into ethnic categories. He cites the experience of the Museum of Modern Art, when minority artists objected to being placed in "that ethnic bag" for special showings. McCone adds that work must be judged on its merits: "If you show bad art, you are clearly doing a disservice to the community you are trying to serve and furthering segregation . . . there is a tremendous number of good artists and they should not be separated into categories." He also thinks it is important to make the Museum as "hospitable" as possible: "We try to let the art draw the people in." Don Jones (Chevron) thinks the best way

to serve minority interests is to ensure their representation on boards, while Michael Raddie (Chamber Music) thinks the City might make tickets to a variety of art performances available to minorities via the schools or community centers and publicize opportunities which are available for performing artists.

Eric Hayashi (Asian American Theater) thinks the first step must be to set up a task force in the Mayor's office with the responsibility of formulating a city policy statement regarding the need for the arts to be more aware of the importance of minority involvement. He thinks the City should encourage the major art organizations to make more effort to train and hire minority dancers and actors.

Ideally, the artist is a visionary, ahead of his time, says Rossi Snipper (Magic Theater) and so should be able to find means within his art to foster racial integration. In fact, it doesn't work that way ("If you have a play with an interracial marriage shown then that still has to be the focus of that play.") Snipper thinks a good deal is being done to develop separate ethnic art, but very little to integrate the art community; he suggests more city provisions for training and grants for individual minority artists.

More should be done to teach the science of management, i.e., to teach how to do publicity, how to do audience development, says Ernest Baker (Music By the Bay). Baker worries that minority training tends to be "training away from

usefulness to one's own community." He thinks the City must begin studying and understanding the needs of the different communities: "You have to know your own tradition in order to move forward." Baker also urges more arts in the schools and more use of arts to teach learning skills ("30 of the 42 skills needed to read are art-related").

The City could do more to open up major city facilities to major cultural presentations from non-European sources, says Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circus), while Richard Reineccius (Julian Theater) recommends that more attention be paid to affirmative action policy in distributing city funds; he says that the major art establishments should be "looked at very carefully" in this regard.

The key way to bring in minorities is to hire them as administrators, says Jim Larkin (United Project). Minorities must be in key decision-making positions. He also recommends that the new Performing Arts Center be opened up to wider usage, "since they managed to push that one by us" and the Center has "drained away money that would otherwise have gone to the community."

The City should do more to help with ethnic festivals in the communities, offers Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet) who asks, "Why aren't the Chicanos in the Mission having festivals as colorful as those in Mexico?" and answers, "Because the City has not helped enough." LeBlond also urges maintaining arts exposure in the public schools, and supports the idea of making more programs available to the aged, minor-

ities, and the handicapped. He worries, however, about the City's having a say over "who is in your troop . . . the arts are still relatively free of City control and I'd like them to stay that way."

Several suggestions for encouraging minority participation in the arts are made by Vern Henderson (Western Addition). There should be 'free days' at major art performances and discounts for large groups. It should be possible for the community art productions to be shown in the larger theaters ("We don't even think along those lines . . . it's impossible . . . they would just say, 'are you crazy?'"). As it is, community productions are a dead end, and "people are being cheated and left out." Furthermore, says Henderson, everyone is losing: the actors, the companies and the establishment audiences who do not get to see this art. Think what it could mean, suggests Henderson, if talent were regularly recruited from the communities, if others in the community could say, "look what happened to Bobbie Joe; he was serious and look what happened."

V. Other Suggestions for Improving City Arts Policy

In what other ways might the City's policy toward the arts be improved? Answers tended to fall into two categories: A) Specific recommendations and B) A better understanding of the role of art in the City.

A. Specific Recommendations

Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circus) suggests that

art education in the schools should be better promoted, and more should be done to help individual artists find housing, employment, and studio space. Too many artists are leaving the City: "If you lose artists, you lose the arts." It would help to have changes in the building codes permitting easier access to loft space in vacant buildings. The City should encourage private institutions and businesses to include space for a theater or patio for lunchtime concerts in plans for new construction. Above all, the City should have a conscious arts policy, which does not exist at present. Rossi Snipper (Magic Theater) would also like to see the City work to improve the space allotted to arts in the City for individual artists and for both resident and touring groups. John Kreidler (San Francisco Foundation) agrees the City must do more to ensure the economic well-being of those "individual artists who contribute to the status of San Francisco as one of the major cultural centers of the world, and thereby to the attraction this City has for its visitors."

Another way the City could offer more help in the future, says Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective), would be by encouraging and helping the existent umbrella organizations which have been set up by the practitioners (e.g., the Bay Area Dance Coalition). It would also help, says Way, if the City would put less emphasis on urging groups to offer free performances; the City should be helping to develop a community willingness to pay for arts. Constantly urging free perfor-

mances may kill the very groups which are trying to make art available.

Several of those interviewed stressed that the City should include more promotional activity on behalf of the arts as part of its future plans. Spokespersons for smaller arts groups were especially likely to make this point. Michael Raddie (San Francisco Chamber Music Society) says, "I don't know if anyone in City Hall is cognizant of what is going on in the arts and monitoring it. There should be someone with that responsibility to keep the idea of San Francisco as a cultural center to the forefront of city policy-making." Ernest Baker (Music By the Bay) makes a similar point, saying that if the City followed a general policy of encouraging creativity at all levels of art, the news media would offer better coverage of non-establishment art events. It would help, suggests Brenda Way (Oberlin Dance Collective) if the City were to prepare an information booklet covering the kinds of art available in the City and make such a booklet widely available to art organizations to use when giving lectures or demonstrations relating to their own work. Way also urges that the City help smaller groups make the necessary connections with the Visitors' Bureau, recognizing that exposing visitors to San Francisco's highest quality art will help counteract the view of West Coast art as second rate, "flakey." She also suggests the City help the arts achieve better coverage by the media.

There should be more City support for art education, suggests Ernest Baker (Music By the Bay) and the major art establishments, supported by the tax base of the entire City, should be open to wider use. Michael Nolan (Pickle Family Circus) urges that performances developed by the Neighborhood Arts Program have greater access to Civic Center facilities.

Somewhat more broadly, Cecile McCann (Editor and Publisher, ARTWEEK), thinks the City must always keep its focus on quality while working to improve and expand the cultural life of the community. Jim Hirabayashi (Center for Japanese-American Studies) warns that the City must be careful that the policies it adopts do not tend to separate the arts from each other too much, as well as from people's lives. He thinks art must be thoroughly integrated into people's lives, not something done just on weekends, not something kept in separate compartments, fragmented.

B. A better understanding of the role of art in the City

Again and again, the point was made that the City leadership undervalues the contribution which art makes to the City, and that better understanding would inevitably lead to better support. For some, the main point was to convey the economic impact of the arts on the City. Art Commission President Ray Taliaferro says money spent on art is always an investment rather than an expenditure, and that if the City understood what a good investment it was, "They would say, 'My goodness, let's give them whatever they want!'"

Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet) points out that the convention and tourist business is the major industry for San Francisco and argues that the City must be "much more intelligent and forthright in recognizing the part that the arts play." He is, he says, "tired of bleeding for the poor, the lame, the halt, and every minority group that needs to be helped without getting any reciprocation." Don Jones believes the City must learn to focus on three goals: 1) using the Hotel Tax Fund for its proper purposes (encouraging tourism and business), 2) supporting those art programs which benefit large numbers of San Francisco taxpayers and attract large audiences (he cites the opera, the symphony, the ballet, and A.C.T.), and 3) supporting the participative arts.

Michael McCone would also like to see a better recognition by the City of the importance of the arts in attracting tourists, business, consulates, and world-wide favorable attention to San Francisco. Art is "not some esoteric plaything of the rich." Lenor Naxon thinks that there is nothing wrong with the City keeping its focus on the question of the economic impact of the arts on the City, but points out this is a complicated matter: how do you assess, she asks, the impact of the Oberlin Dance Collective on its low-income neighborhood? When art is present, she says, other businesses (e.g., restaurants) thrive. Furthermore, "arts make neighborhoods safer."

Others emphasize the social impact of the arts on the City. Michael Raddie (Chamber Music) thinks multiplying

the cultural opportunities of San Franciscans can be an important way to reduce the tension and hatreds in city life, and Richard Reineccius (Julian Theater) believes that the arts are second in importance only to employment in preventing the re-emergence of the riots of the 1960's -- "The single most important way to give the City's people a sense of well being." The City must come to understand that art cannot be set aside until all social problems have been solved, says Richard LeBlond (San Francisco Ballet), and the leaders of the City, including elected officials, must become a great deal more enlightened regarding the role of the arts in helping to solve those very problems. Art Commissioner Roselyne Swig believes more thought should be given to the role of the arts when dealing with problems of city violence, and Art Commission President Ray Taliaferro says art is one of the strongest tools for resolving other social problems, for "bringing about the kind of urban community this country has long hoped for."

Ernest Baker (Music By the Bay) carries the point even further: Developing art develops creativity, says Baker. San Francisco, plagued by numerous and serious problems, has a deep need for more creativity. Developing art is in that sense just like bringing in more business -- it increases the resources available to deal with the problems -- but in this case, those resources are not tourist dollars, but human energies. And Michael McCone (Museum of Modern Art) sums it up:

The City leadership must be made to recognize that "the arts are wonderful . . . a more important part of life than they realize . . . a necessary part of our well-being."

Kay Lawson
Professor of Political Science

NOTES

1. Interviews were conducted in May and June of 1980 with the following persons:

Ernest Baker, President of Board, Music By the Bay;
Past Chair, Arts Advocates

Stewart Bloom, Co-Director, Citizen's Committee for the Reform of the War Memorial Board of Trustees

Frank Campagnoli, President, War Memorial Board of Trustees

Joan Ellison, Acting Director, San Francisco Art Commission

John Gidwitz, Manager, San Francisco Symphony Association

David Glotzer, Chair of Charter Sub-Committee, Arts Advocates; Assistant Development Director, San Francisco Opera

Eric Hayashi, Director, Asian American Theater

Vern Henderson, Program Coordinator, Western Additional Cultural Center

Jim Hirabayashi, Co-Director, Center for Japanese American Studies

Don Jones, Manager, Education, Arts and Institutional Advertising, Chevron U.S.A.

John Kreidler, Program Executive, San Francisco Foundation

Jim Larkin, Co-Director, United Project

Richard LeBlond, President, San Francisco Ballet

Alfonso Maciel, Director, Mission Cultural Center

Cecile McCann, Editor and Publisher, ARTWEEK

Michael McCone, Deputy Director, Museum of Modern Art

Lenore Naxon, Press and Community Representative, San Francisco Opera

Michael Nolan, Business Manager, Pickle Family Circus

Michael Raddie, Treasurer, San Francisco Chamber Music Society

Richard Reineccius, Director, Julian Theater; former Member, San Francisco Art Commission

Edwin Schwartz, Consultant, Performing Arts Center; formerly Public Relations Director, San Francisco Symphony

Thomas Seligman, Deputy Director of Education and Exhibition, Fine Arts Museums

Rossi Snipper, Administrative Director, Magic Theater

Roselyne Swig, Member, San Francisco Art Commission

Ray Taliaferro, President, San Francisco Art Commission

Brenda Way, Member, Board of Directors, Oberlin Dance Collective

Allison Wilbur, Administrator, Mexican Museum

In addition, conversations with:

Richard Mayer, Chair of the Charter Revision Committee and Member of the San Francisco Art Commission; and

Jeff Fraass, Research Assistant, Arts Task Force, Charter Revision Committee

provided essential background information for this chapter.

Letters to the Charter Revision Committee on related matters (made available by Mr. Fraass) included those from:

Stewart Bloom, Citizens Committee for the Reform of the San Francisco War Memorial Board of Trustees, February 23, 1980

Board of Trustees, Fine Arts Museums, February 23, 1980

Gilbert H. Boreman, Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, August 9, 1979

Frederic Campagnoli, President of War Memorial Board of Trustees, May 25, 1979

John Gidwitz, Manager, San Francisco Symphony Association, February 22, 1980

Arlene Goldbard and Don Adams, Research, Policy, Program Design in the Arts, May 29, 1979

Lawrence V. Metcalf, President, San Francisco Symphony Association, March 11, 1980

San Francisco Arts Advocates, February 23, 1980

San Francisco Ballet Association, February 22, 1980

San Francisco Opera, February 22, 1980

David Tucker and Becky Clapp, February 23, 1980

In addition, working papers, minutes and recommendations of the Arts Task Force of the Charter Revision Commission were made available by Mr. Fraass.

2. Ceci Brunazzi, "San Francisco Civic Funding for the Arts: Who Pays? Who Benefits?", prepared for Intersection, Center for Religion and the Arts, undated ms.

STRUCTURES OF MUNICIPAL ARTS ADVOCACY

In this chapter we examine how selected cities around the United States have stabilized municipal support for the arts community by introducing formal provisions into their city charters or ordinances. We attempt to indicate some of the relationships between institutional arrangements and actual support for the arts in each city. However, cursory investigation immediately suggests that the relationship between a city's formal provisions and its national reputation for arts advocacy is at best, very indirect. Even cities with reputations for vigorous public support of the arts may have minimal or no provisions written into their city charters. Therefore our task broadens to include other municipal institutions and the context in which they are formed.

Each U.S. city has a unique context of mutual influence: a for-profit arts industry, private patronage of fine arts, popular participation in community arts, a distinctive social and cultural milieu, and perhaps most important, a history of political and economic support for the arts. One need only consider the unique character of San Francisco's cultural heritage to illustrate this point. We therefore touch on the broader context, where necessary, to explain local institutional arrangements. We attempt,

wherever possible, to identify the dynamic forces such as mayoral initiative, community lobbying, private endowment, and federal and state subsidy, all of which immediately influence municipal arts advocacy

In referring to "the arts" in each city, we confine ourselves to the established visual and performing arts, community fine arts programs, and urban design where it encompasses fine arts, architectural design, or the appreciation of the City itself as an object of art. We concentrate on the institution of arts commissions in city governments, but consider areas where the arts are fostered by other municipal institutions such as recreation and public works departments. We also look at private arts commissions that independently utilize public support.

We begin with a brief discussion of the cultural, economic, and historical context of arts-support institutions in the cities. On this basis we formulate criteria and choose a set of case studies. For each city we briefly review available information on the relationship between city government and local arts institutions. We conclude with a classification of city arts institutions of relevance to charter reform in San Francisco. Severe constraints of time and readily available information force us to rely upon locally available documents and secondary sources, yet this material is sufficient to suggest broad comparisons between San Francisco and other cities, and to gather a number of ideas for possible future developments.

City Structures and the Arts

Cities wishing to institutionalize support for the arts are faced with a choice of legal embodiment. Establishing municipal arts agencies and introducing explicit fine arts provisions into existing municipal departments and laws are considered essential to incorporate a permanent arts policy into the structure of city government. In order of importance, city charters, ordinances, mayoral initiatives, and regulations such as police, fire, and building codes are all used as structural instruments of arts policy. Municipal arts commissions are usually established by charter, as in San Francisco, or city ordinance, as in Seattle. Yet when most successful arrangements for support of the arts are examined closely, they often appear incidental to permanent formal structures. San Antonio, Texas, for example, has a private arts agency The Arts Council of San Antonio, officially recognized but not incorporated by the local government that has ingeniously rallied for federal, state, and municipal funding. Indeed, it appears that the arts in some cities succeed or fail independent of explicit governmental sanction. These circumstances, however, indicate how recently a rationalized municipal system of support for the arts has been developed.

Historically, municipal arts policies have developed in scattered and unrelated forms. Provisions for parks, recreation, libraries, education, civic design, community development, museums and galleries, city planning, housing, and even aviation and police have each contributed to city arts policies. Currently, the scope and quality of provisions for the arts appear to be implicitly determined, regardless of explicit policy. One has only to consider such provisions as licensing of street peddlers, regulating studio use of building lofts, financing the events of community organizations, or zoning commercial uses around aquatic sites to realize the breadth of city provisions affecting the arts. Some cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco are now attempting to put such dispersed arts policies together into more explicit forms.

De facto arts policies have evolved historically in each city from domination by civic-minded patrician families of established wealth who provided cities with a "high culture" heritage through philanthropy and social influence. On-going government support of the arts is a very recent development.

Public arts advocacy became a popular issue in the 1960's, a time of civil rights and urban renewal legislation, and became part of President Johnson's Great Society motif through the establishment of the National

Endowment for the Arts in 1965. Opinion polls during this period indicated that the public favored government support of the arts. The argument for public advocacy was that it would make the "high" arts more accessible to the public at large and nurture the development of nonprofit community arts. State and local arts advocacy burgeoned along with federal sanction and financial support. The California Arts Council was established in 1963. Community arts agencies in the U.S. grew from fewer than 200 in 1965 to more than 1,200 in 1977.¹ The United States Conference of Mayors passed a resolution in 1974 recommending that the arts be recognized as an essential city service and made available to all citizens.²

While public foundations for the arts flourished, declining private family support was being taken by corporate patronage. The May 1979 issue of Art News estimated that the annual corporate funding of the arts was more than \$250 million, more than twice the annual budget of the National Endowment of the Arts. A 1975 study estimated the revenues for private nonprofit arts organizations during fiscal year 1974 to be \$80.6 billion. As estimated \$23.2 billion came from government funds, \$25.3 billion from private contributions, and \$32.1 billion from earned income.³

Although direct municipal subsidy provides a small fraction of total support for the arts in dollars and cents, the widespread attitude at the community level is that

municipal arts agencies are needed to fully exploit available funds from continually shifting sources of federal, state, and private sources, to coordinate community arts programs, to ensure public access to the arts, and to advise on the quality and state of the arts.

From a wealth of material covering recent experience with municipal support for the arts across the country, we decided to focus on a few cities of particular relevance to San Francisco. The first criterion for choosing case studies was that they should be cities large enough to have a comparable range of fine arts activities and relatively complex arrangements for support of the arts. Larger cities with more complex structures and activities were not eliminated, since such structures can provide examples and cautionary tales for San Francisco's future. Secondly, only cities with widely recognized reputations for the arts and for their promotion of the arts were chosen. The corroboration of a Ford Foundation study ranking cities according to public exposure to the arts,⁴ fine art publications such as Art News, and a number of informal interviews with local artists and arts advocates all contributed to a short list of nine cities: Seattle, New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Chicago, Houston, and Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C. was eliminated because its peculiar status as an international showcase and the volume of federal money poured into its international and national museums makes it difficult to isolate local influences in the time available. Further, it is difficult to extricate Washington's artistic community from New York's massive influence. Minneapolis, Chicago, and Houston, all cities with arrangements for the arts of relevance to San Francisco, had to be eliminated for lack of sufficient ready information.

Finally, cities with a variety of charter and ordinance provisions for the arts were chosen so as to give the broadest possible basis for comparison with San Francisco. The cities chosen according to these criteria are New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, Atlanta, and Los Angeles.

New York City

Since the end of World War II, New York City has enjoyed growing international prominence in the visual and performing arts. New York continues to draw artists from all over the country as well as the world into its cultural milieu. New York's long history of arts advocacy is reflected in its complex structure of municipal support. Even where municipal subsidy has originated in other American cities, these innovations have often reached their

highest degree of specificity in New York City. New York's recent public arts policy shows the greatest order of magnitude of modern attempts to rationalize constantly growing and changing arts agencies.

The New York Charter, revised in 1975 and amended to 1977, reflects the tension between consolidation and complexity in its provisions for the arts. Of all the modern revised city charters consulted, New York's charter retains the most varied and explicitly detailed provisions for the arts. Two separate city art departments are created, as well as a Landmarks Preservation Commission charged with the establishment and regulation of landmarks and historical sites and a Department of Housing Preservation and Development with some duties relevant to the arts.

Chapter 37 of the charter provides for the New York Art Commission. Its composition somewhat resembles that of San Francisco and includes the mayor, the president of the New York Public Library, the president of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, four residents from representative fine arts professions, and three residents from outside the fine arts professions. The members are appointed by the mayor from a list submitted by the non-governmental Fine Arts Federation of New York. Section 857 of the same chapter gives to the commission, "general advisory oversight over all works of art belonging to the city." Section 854 details the powers and duties

of the commission and gives a clear definition of the term "works of art." A disclaimer in Section 857 states that "nothing in this section shall be construed as intended to impair the concurrent power of the Commissioner of Parks and Recreation" within his jurisdiction.⁶

The powers and duties of the Department of Parks and Recreation are set out in Chapter 21, where "works of art" are expressly defined. The Parks and Recreation Commissioner is charged with responsibilities for the construction and maintenance of all works of art on any property within his jurisdiction; the adornment and beautification of all park and recreational facilities, and the supervision and coordination of all programs on Parks and Recreation facilities.

Chapter 67 provides for a Department and Commissioner of Cultural Affairs; the present body was created in 1975. The Commissioner's powers and duties are more broadly defined here than those of other departments and commissions. The Commissioner's functions include formulating goals for the city's cultural development, fostering coordination among governmental and private organizations, acting as ombudsman for the city's cultural life, and developing constructive research. The Commissioner has broad coordination powers because, according to Section 2504,

"all institutions or other city organization engaging in cultural activities in the city" are required to submit their budgets to the Commissioner. The Commissioner is also head of his or her own Department of Cultural Affairs, which has an operating budget of 1/6 percent of the city total and is able to rally substantial federal funding for capital works.⁷

As the structure of support for the arts in New York City has changed, the city has tried to keep a balance between sufficient specificity in its provisions and room for adaptation to a fast-changing environment. Just how complex this task can become is illustrated by the confusion and controversy around the new tower being built by the Museum of Modern Art, where the museum takes on the dubious responsibility of playing landlord.

Philadelphia

Philadelphia has an historic reputation for conscious preservation of its architectural heritage and a rich endowment of works of art in public places. The first "% for Art" legislation in the U.S. was instituted in Philadelphia in 1959, allocating two percent of municipal construction cost to public art. The Philadelphia Art Commission implements the law and coordinates the process of selecting artists and approving design.

Philadelphia is an interesting example of the conversion of political power in the United States during the 30's and 40's from patrician families--owners of railroads, banks, and utilities companies--to commercial and labor-based representation on city institutions. The conservative republican party machine was dismantled by reforms in the 1940's and replaced by a democratic machine later in the same decade. The Philadelphia Home Rule Charter, revised and adopted in 1951, reflects the patchwork of "old world" established institutions interlacing a reform charter giving strong administrative control to the mayor and broad legislative control to the city council. There are seven departments relating to arts and culture named by the Charter. Annotated sections citing laws, acts, and contracts made by the city have been added to solve conflicts of jurisdiction among commissions and departments, although their powers and duties are rarely or vaguely defined.

Section 3-910 establishes the Art Commission, composed of the Commissioner of Public Property, members of representative arts professions, a member of the Fairmount Park Commission, and an experienced business executive. Although the powers and duties of this commission are not prescribed by this section, there is a later provision concerning its composition that states: "In all matters

within the jurisdiction of the Commission pertaining to work under the special charge of any department of the City, the head of such department shall also for the time being act as a member but shall have no vote." Section 8-207 gives the Art Commission power to approve the erection, acquisition, removal, or relocation of any "work of art" placed in or upon or extended over "any building, street, stream, lake, park or other public place belonging to or under the control of the city."⁸

Section 3-916 creates the Recreation Coordination Board, composed of the Recreation Commissioner and nine appointed members, including members of the Fairmount Park Commission and the Board of Public Education. The annotation to this section states the purpose of this board is to coordinate recreational activities conducted by the city, the Fairmount Park Commission, and the Board of Public Education. Section 5-601 gives further coordinating powers to the Recreation Coordination Board. Section 5-602 details specific limits of jurisdiction of the Fairmount Park Commission as prescribed by law. Section 5-604 allows custody, care, and management of the Atwater Kent Museum under an ordinance passed in 1938. The board is retained because of the contract under which the city received the museum, but is necessarily connected with the Department

of Recreation because its functions fall within the sphere of recreation.

Allocations or disbursal of city monies are not prescribed in these sections. The mayor submits budget requests for all departments, boards and commissioners.

Merely itemizing the above sections suggests possible conflicts of jurisdiction among overlapping departments and boards and a "grafting process" attempt to coordinate and limit the powers of certain boards established by contracts made between the city and patrician fathers for the care and maintenance of their endowments. Several efforts to revise the current charter have been attempted and failed.

Atlanta

Atlanta is a commercial, industrial, and administrative capital of the South. Job opportunities were growing faster than the population in the 1960's: a period when Atlanta became famous for its liberal integration policy. Although Atlanta may not yet have acquired a reputation for producing local artists of national and international stature, the city does have a reputation--growing through the 1960's and 1970's--for attracting high quality visual and performing arts, and providing broad and varied arts education for the

public. In terms of public support, Atlanta is most often cited for directing state and federal monies for education and urban development into arts projects. For example, Atlanta's municipal arts agency, The Bureau of Cultural and International Affairs, used federal funding (HUD) to commission sculptures and murals in public places, in low-income residential neighborhoods. The association of cultural support and international promotion is not accidental: Atlanta city uses arts policy as publicity for its attempts to become an international business centre.

Since the Bureau of Cultural and International Affairs was incorporated into the city government by ordinance in 1975, it does not appear in the 1973 revised charter.⁹ It is unlikely, however that specific provisions for the Bureau would appear, since the charter merely lists eight established boards and commissions, and gives a broad general provision assigning to the city council the authority to create, prescribe duties and annually appropriate budgets for them. Boards and commissions created by the council are subject to the rules of the Charter, the ordinances of the Council, and the applicable laws of the State of Georgia. Regular full-time employees of the commissions are prescribed to be considered employees of the city, "entitled to all of the benefits and privileges as are other employees of

the City," and "subject to all laws, ordinances and resolutions governing employees of the City." There is no other explicit mention of commissions of arts or culture, or provisions or allocations of money for the arts or culture within other departments.⁹

This simple charter is characteristic of recent reforms. In Ed Young's words:

"There is definitely a move towards attempting to streamline city charters and make them more flexible. This means removal of specific charter provisions and the change from a 'specification' type charter to a 'performance' type. Many charters have been changed to allow city councils to reorganize the city's administrative structure by ordinance rather than by charter amendment."¹⁰

This tendency helps explain the apparent dilemma in which cities with no explicit charter provisions often have the best reputations for support of the arts. Simple, streamlined charters and vigorous support for the arts often go together in modern reform-oriented city government. Seattle has had both since the 1950's.

Seattle

Seattle has a high national reputation for the performing and visual arts. The city is frequently cited in studies of municipal art advocacy for its innovative program and public endowments. Yet the 1946 Charter,

amended over forty times and standing against several unsuccessful attempts at revision, makes no provision for the arts.¹¹ A private federation, Allied Arts has been a very successful lobby group since its inception in 1954. It introduced the original 1955 ordinance setting up the first Municipal Arts Commission, now defunct through lack of funding, and in 1971 successfully lobbied to exempt performing arts from a 5 percent city tax and to provide a 10 percent city subsidy of operating budgets to the performing arts.

By the instigation of Allied Arts, Ordinance 99982 adopted in 1971 establishes the new Seattle Arts Commission, members of whom are appointed by the mayor, approved by the city council, and endowed with a special fund designated "The Seattle Arts Commission Operating Fund." The purpose of the Commission is to increase public awareness of and interest in the fine and performing arts. The ordinance details powers, duties, and procedures for the Commission, including the power "to make expenditures in accordance with the annual budget adopted by the City" and "review the financial needs of public programs for development of the fine and performing arts and submit a proposed budget therefor," and "to employ a full-time staff."

Other city agencies are also active in the arts. For example, in 1969, the Port of Seattle Commissioners voted

to set aside \$300,000 for the purchase of art work for the new Seattle Airport under construction at the time, the money being a percentage of revenue bonds for capital improvement. The idea for the endowment came from the architectural firm contracted for the airport construction.

In 1973, a "% for Arts" ordinance was adopted whereby 1 percent of all eligible capital improvement funds were allocated to works of art. A unique feature of this ordinance is that the percentage allocated for the arts is administered directly by the Arts Commission with the approval of the mayor.

No provision for the Arts Commission nor any other arts allocation appears in the Seattle Charter as it is amended to 1973. There is no mention whatever of "works of art" or "cultural activities" in any charter provision. A 1967 Amendment does name a Superintendent of Parks and Recreation and establishes a "Parks and Recreation Fund" consisting of 10 percent of the gross receipts of the city from fines penalties and licenses "and such other monies as may be provided by ordinance." However, there is no specific provision for arts or cultural programs under the jurisdiction of the Commission or the Superintendent.

A brief examination of the nature of Seattle's municipal government suggests why the varied and vigorous public arrangements for the arts do not appear in the

charter. Seattle's population being racially homogenous and prosperous, the reform process of centralization away from political machines that took place in many major American cities never took place in Seattle. Seattle still has a weak mayor-council structure of government. Boards and departments of the city operate with optimum independence and unity. Business constitutes the power base of the city, there are no strong contestants for this power, and there is broad consensus about the value of arts to the development of the city's cultural and economic life.

Los Angeles

The City and County of Los Angeles are especially noted for leadership in film, television, and recording industries, and for an associated innovative artistic and cultural climate. However, the trend of local governmental support for the arts is extreme decentralization and duplication of effort.

The 1925 Charter, prevailing despite recent attempts at revision, is even more cumbersome than San Francisco's Charter. Separate city and county functions interrelate in complex ways.

Accordingly, institutional arrangements for the arts are highly decentralized and overlap. The Los Angeles Municipal Arts Commission established by charter was originally empowered only with the approval of the design of public buildings, but has since expanded its rôle through the Municipal Arts Department to the direct provision of cultural and artistic services and to advisory power over the mayor's grants to mayor arts organizations. A separate Department of Recreation and Parks, through its Cultural Affairs Section, also supports the performing arts, crafts, and recreational arts. There is no clear line of demarcation between agencies, nor simple means of resolving conflict. A third agency, the Board of Public Works, adopted a policy of requiring 1 percent of the cost of buildings on city land to be allocated to adornment or works of art. It also issues permits to film and television producers' use of city and private property, designating certain parts of the city as special film areas. The county is responsible for such facilities as the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which it contracts out to a private Board of Trustees for management and operation. There is a lack of coordination between Los Angeles City and County on artistic matters.

Lack of coordination, overlap, and decentralization characterize Los Angeles City and County arts institutions. This situation is determined in part by a cumbersome weak mayor-council charter. Yet despite these weaknesses, the arts in Los Angeles continue to thrive and to set trends for other cities.

Other Cities

Other cities offer useful ideas for locally institutionalized arts advocacy. Boston's Office of Cultural Affairs, established simply by executive initiative and therefore independent of the City Council, runs a number of innovative community arts programs with city and foundation grants. In Palo Alto, a permanent arts director is advised by "art forums," citizen assemblies to discuss arts policy. San Diego officially recognizes one federation of private arts agencies, the Combined Arts and Educational Council of San Diego County (COMBO), and gives city money, including some of its 4 percent Hotel Tax, to COMBO for disbursal.

Tampa-Hillsborough County has an unusual and successful structure for the arts, a public authority set up by state legislature but independent of state

and local government. It is empowered to present tax referenda, float bonds, and even collect the proceeds of an extra day's horseracing in the county!

Summary

Whether city institutions to support the arts are empowered by city charter or ordinance is incidental to arts policy in most cases, except that charter provisions with unnecessary detail cause overlap and confusion over time as they are amended. Modern city charters tend to avoid detail and simply set out procedures for creating arts provisions by ordinance or initiative.

Cities across the country use an interesting variety of structures to support the arts: private councils, city arts departments, advisory arts commissions, independent public agencies, and cultural affairs commissions. The tendency is for arts commissions to be given wider powers and new sources of revenue for the arts, and for traditional arts agencies to be augmented by new cultural agencies. However, evidence suggests that it is not the structures of institutions as such that determine the success or failure of arts policy, but the innovative use of procedures

and financial support appropriate to each city's history
and cultural milieu.

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Notes

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3. Committee on Quasi-Public Activities, Alan R. Boyce, Chairman, "Citizens' League Report, careful use of public money for private leisure-time activities" Citizens League, Minneapolis (?), 1976.
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6. New York City, New York City Charter, revised November 4, 1975.
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